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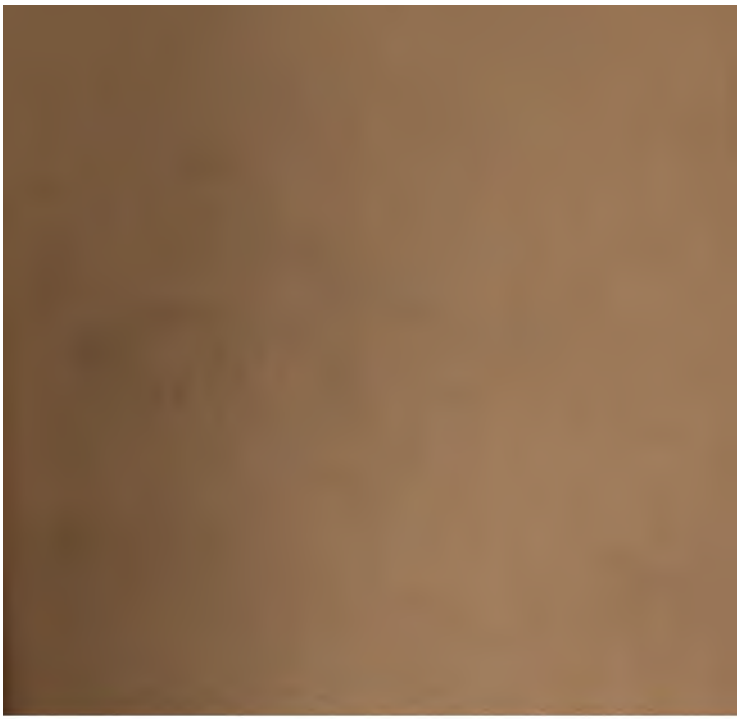

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

UNIVERSALISM,

FROM THE

ERA OF THE REFORMATION

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

BY THOMAS WHITTEMORE,
Pastor of the First Universalist Society in Cambridge, Mass.

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PREFACE.

This work is a continuation of the History of Universalism from the date at which it was closed by the author of the Ancient History. I have attempted a connected account of this doctrine in reference only to England and the United States; for my first and fifth chapters will be found to consist merely of traces of that sentiment in different countries, as I have been able to discover them. I am very far from thinking that I have been so successful as to have obtained a knowledge of every case in which Universalism has been avowed or defended; and I

shall but slightly relax my endeavors to find new instances, and bring them out to the light.

I cannot permit this opportunity to pass, without expressing my heart-felt acknowledgements to that Being who has preserved my health, and enabled me to finish this work, in the midst of other pressing and incessant duties. May my confidence in him never be diminished.

THE

MODERN HISTORY

OF

UNIVERSALISM.

CHAPTER I.

THE REFORMATION. RISE, CONDEMNATION, DISPERSION OF THE ANABAPTISTS.

1. The period at which the History of Universalism is most naturally divided into *ancient* and *modern*, is that of the Reformation, when the throne was shaken on which the Pope swayed his sceptre over the Christian world, and the power dared which he had long exercised without resistance. From small beginnings, by effrontery, assiduity and art, he had gained that height of grandeur and power, at which not only the churches and clergy, but laymen and the highest civil rulers trembled. The Court of Rome had always freely used its power, in promoting the objects of its unrivalled ambition, in suppressing heresies, and in visiting with the full weight of its displeasure those who undertook the hopeless and perilous task of opposing its measures. But it pursued so long and zealously its oppressive and wicked course, that the evil wrought its own cure. The avarice of the Court, its thirst for do-

minion, its recklessness of right and propriety, led to the pursuit of such objects, and the employment of such means as, at last, awoke one part of the christian world to see its wide departure from virtue, its ambition, its arrogance, and its presumption.

The event of the Reformation is connected with the History of Universalism, inasmuch as it was the means of setting the human mind at liberty, of encouraging the love of truth and free inquiry, and thereby of bringing many to believe in the eventual salvation of the whole world. It taught men that they possessed the right of private judgment, and exhorted them most earnestly to exercise it. It pointed out the fallibility of the Pope and the Catholic Church, exposed their errors and contradictions, and thereby destroyed, in many minds, the reverence which had been long entertained for their decisions. It gave to the people the Bible, which, by authority, they had been forbidden to use; and having translated it into the vernacular tongues of many nations, it urged them to study it in consideration of their duty, their happiness, and their salvation. These advantages and this advice, seconded by the desires and the rising zeal of the people, gave a new face to religion in Europe. With the authority of the Catholic Church the Reformers renounced many of her doctrinal errors. New communities of Christians arose, distinct from her in their doctrine and discipline.

II. Although the honor of beginning the Reformation has long and justly been conferred on Martin

Luther, yet it should not be forgotten, that before the birth of the Reformer there were various causes tending to produce such an event, which afterward greatly accelerated its advancement.

The influence of the Papal authority was impaired in the fifteenth century by the three contending Pontiffs, who each laid claim to the right of governing the church.[1] Roaming about Europe, they fawned on the princes whom they wished to gain to their interest; extorted large sums of money from the countries which acknowledged their authority; excommunicated their rivals, and fulminated curses on those who adhered to them. By such measures their pretensions to infallibility were brought into discredit; and the laity saw, in some measure, the necessity of exercising the right of private judgment. The councils of Constance and Basil, notwithstanding one of them brought Huss to the stake, had set bounds to the power of the Pope.[2] The former declared that the Pontiff was inferior, and subject to the decrees of a general assembly of the church; the latter, after confirming this resolution of its sister council, carried the work of reformation further, and gave offence to the Pope, against whom they passed sentence for attempting to dissolve them. The profligate manners of the Popes diminished their authority in the minds of reflecting men. In private life dissolute and abandoned, urged to public acts by a boundless ambition and

[1] Robertson's Charles V. [2] Mosheim Ch. Hist. Cen. xv. p. ii.

avarice, many obeyed their mandates more through a dread of their power, than a conviction of their right to rule. But men were not wanting even at this time who exposed the vices of the Pontiff, under the protection of those political rulers with whom he was engaged in hostilities. The vices now named were not confined to the head of the church, but might be traced through all orders of the clergy. Great wealth, idleness, gross ignorance and celibacy were the fruitful sources of their wickedness. Increased scandal was brought upon the Church by the facility with which she remitted offences. She sold pardons at stipulated prices, and bestowed them more freely on the clergy than on any other class, a circumstance for which we can plead that they stood in greater need of them. Degeneracy of manners was not their only fault: They encroached on the rights of every other order of men. The sacredness of their clerical character was used as a shield against the punishment which such atrocious practices merited. It was represented as impious to try by the same laws the holy priesthood and the profane laity; and the exemption of the clergy from civil jurisdiction was asserted by Popes and Councils, and confirmed by many political rulers. It is true the civil arm could punish the offender after he was degraded from the sacred office; but as the power of degradation lay solely in the spiritual courts, absolute impunity was often secured to him. All these evils, with many

others that might be added to them, existed in the church, and weakened the confidence of the people in their spiritual guides. By these abuses they were prepared the more readily to receive the improvements which Luther proposed.

III. The Reformation was sustained on the true Protestant principles of the right of private judgment, and the superior authority of reason and the word of God to that of Popes, councils or canons. Luther was early convinced that the Scriptures were the proper rule of faith and practice; and that every man had the right of judging for himself concerning their true sense. His preaching was principally directed against the errors and vices of the Pope and the Catholic Church. He held to the utter inefficacy of human works as a means of salvation, the decree of God in the condemnation of the sinner; and, opposing particularly the papal notion of releasing souls from purgatory, he asserted, with the more vehemence, the endless duration of the torments of hell. Several of the Reformers differed widely from him in subjects of doctrine, but none perhaps more than Zuinglius, the eminent Swiss. While Luther confined salvation to those who, by the saving grace of Christ, were brought to the knowledge of divine truth, Zuinglius extended it to the good and benevolent of every age and nation, how wrong soever they might be in their speculative opinions. At least one Catholic writer has accused him of having believed in the

salvation of all mankind, a charge which does not admit of proof.[3]

It is with the principles on which the Reformation was established, rather than with the mere opinions of the Reformers, that we are now concerned. To doubt the decisions of the Pope had been a crime. It was but a customary, common place virtue, to submit one's authority to that of canons, and the Fathers. As the strong hold of Papal power, it was these impressions that the Reformers attacked with the greatest vigor. By the most earnest appeals the people were exhorted to assert and make use of the right of reading and judging for themselves. The long neglected volume of the sacred Scriptures was placed in their hands, translated into their own tongue. The ardor with which they

[3] The following is the passage to which we refer. "Zuingle qui avait professe la meme doctrine (i. e. the doctrine of the Universalists) fut refute par Osiander, Lyserus, et d'autres theologiens Protestans." Histoire des Sectes Religieuses, par M. Gregoire. Tome Premier, p. 78.

In the abstract of his doctrine which Zuinglius presented to Francis I. he said, "I cannot believe that God will involve in the same condemnation, him who shuts his eyes to the light, and him who unavoidably lives in darkness. I cannot believe that the Lord will cast away from him nations whose only crime it is never to have heard of the gospel. No, let us abjure the rashness of setting bounds to the divine mercy. I am persuaded that in the heavenly assemblage of all the creatures admitted to contemplate the glory of the Most High, we shall see not only the holy men of the Old and New Covenant, but also Socrates, Aristides, Camillus and Cato ; in a word, I am persuaded that all good men who have fulfilled the laws engraven on their consciences, whatever were the age or country in which they lived, will enter into eternal felicity." Life of Zuinglius by J. G. Hess. See also Milner's Church Hist. Cent. xvi, Chap. 16, who refers to Zuinglii Opera, ii. 559. To these authorities I may add Moshiem's Eccles. Hist. Cent xvi. Part ii. chap. ii 7

would conform to this entreaty may be imagined, but it cannot be described.

IV. One of the direct and inevitable consequences of the principles for which the Reformers contended, was the introduction of new opinions, and the multiplication and diversity of sects. The leaders of the Reformation seem slightly to have considered, that the principles of reform which they had set up, brought into discredit not only the authority of the Pontiff, but also all human authority whatever in matters of religion. They had no good reason to suppose that they could control the strong current of popular feeling which they had put into motion. Like some mighty rush of waters to the level of the sea, it broke over every restraint, and bore away every obstacle. They who had been encouraged to become heretics in the eye of the Pope by denying his authority, would not hesitate to become heretics in the eyes of the Reformers by discarding their opinions. Thus when the principles of the Reformation spread throughout Germany, there arose a considerable number of different sects, some distinguished by one article of faith, and some by another. There is a great variety in the conditions of the human mind, and men, in the free exercise of their powers of judgment, always have arrived at different results. So far from having been chagrined and disappointed, the Reformers ought not to have been surprised at the rapid increase of sects, and wide diversity of opinions that succeeded to their labors.

V. It is impossible in this day, and in this country, to give a full account of the sects which arose in Germany, and quickly spread into the neighboring countries, at the era of the Reformation. Their particular histories, whether written by friends or enemies, possessed rather a local interest, and have not been considered by succeeding generations as worthy of transmission to posterity. What we learn of them is amalgamated, in the most of cases, with the general history of the church, or that of the Reformation; and those traits of their character and faith about which their enemies were the most vehement, are such as have thereby been preserved from oblivion.

It is highly probable that these sects had a remote descent from the ancient Paulicians, who, after suffering various and grievous persecutions and frequent reverses of fortune, spread through Europe, bearing, in different places, the names of Waldenses, Albanenses, Albigenses, Piphles, Cathari, &c.[4] Their principles bore a close resemblance to those of the more ancient Manichæans; and some of them, at least, held to the eventual destruction of evil and misery, denying perhaps altogether, as some authors have asserted, the doctrine of future punishment, and affirming "that the general judgment was past, and that hell torments were no other than the evils we feel and suffer in this life."[5]

[4] Hist of Eng. by Sharon Turner, ii. 381, 382. [5] See the popular Theological Dictionary by Buck, Art. Albanenses, and Gabrielis Prateoli Marcossii Vita Hæreticorum.

Long opposed to and grievously persecuted by the Catholics, the event of the Reformation, patronized as it was by civil power in Germany, England and other places, called them from seclusion, gave them courage, and fostered their innate zeal to diffuse their sentiments.

VI. The most prominent of these sects which arose in Germany, if indeed they are not all to be comprehended under one name, were the Anabaptists, who appeared suddenly, and spread with the most amazing rapidity throughout Germany and the neighboring countries. The rise of this sect is marked by many disorders, which have unjustly cast a stigma upon the whole denomination, and brought into disrepute many men of the most peaceable dispositions, and exemplary lives. The war of the peasants which had broken out in some provinces of the German Empire, had been produced, at first, by the abject servitude to which this part of the community had been reduced. When to the excessive rigor of the feudal institutions there came to be added the enormous taxes which the progress in elegance and luxury, and the changes in the art of war had called for, the accumulated load of burden drove this people to despair. Animated by the example of the Swiss, who had been relieved by revolt from similar evils, they, in the year 1526, ran to arms in the most frantic rage. These commotions soon reached that part of Germany in which Luther had propagated his opinions, and they found a congenial

principle in that bold and innovating spirit, which, having given rise to the Reformation, was nourished and strengthened by its progress.

As we have already stated, the principles for which the Reformers contended, and which they pressed upon the people, more particularly a treatise by Luther, *de libertate christiana*, had given men a disposition to throw off all restraint upon the freedom of the mind. They very soon learned to apply their maxims concerning religion to the principles of civil government, and came to look on civil rulers with the same jealous eye with which they viewed the aspiring ecclesiastics. When the flame which the peasants had kindled reached that which was burning wherever the opinions of Luther prevailed, the combined element raged with tenfold violence. The authority of civil rulers was then no more to be tolerated than that of the Pope. All was equally usurpation. The Christian owed allegiance to no man: he was the servant of Christ alone, and as such he was amenable to no laws but those of his master's kingdom. In Christ there is neither Greek nor Jew, bond nor free, male nor female; in him there are no distinctions; all men are equal; they should have things in common; they should live together like brethren, subject to none but spiritual laws. On this ground some of Luther's disciples attempted to set up what they called the kingdom of Christ upon the earth, by the subversion of all civil authority whatsoever. After several reverses, they unexpectedly seized the city of Munster, in Westphalia,

where they set about to establish divine authority; they drove out the civil rulers, and all the inhabitants who would not submit to it; and strange to tell, they kept possession of this city during sixteen months. Overcome at last, many of their number suffered death. Whether, while the divine authority was exercised, all those crimes were committed which historians have laid to the charge of these infuriated enthusiasts, may justly be doubted; and it is a fact to which the most respectable historians bear testimony, that the factious and riotous proceedings at Munster were highly disapproved by many among the Anabaptists. Among those thus denominated were men of high character and reputation, distinguished by their solid learning, their rational piety, and enlightened zeal for divine truth.[6] In the general rage which the disturbances in Westphalia had excited, an indiscriminate censure was passed upon all the Anabaptist sects.[7] Historians were not sufficiently careful to distinguish between those, who aspiring after a knowledge of the truth, ventured, as they had a right, to dissent from the principal Reformers, and those who were actually seditious. Had it not been for the political disturbances caused by the factious part of the community, consisting alike of Anabaptists, Catholics, peasants, and many persons actuated by no religious considerations whatever,[8] it is not to be sup-

[6] Hist. Introduction to Ree's Racov. Chat. [7] Moshiem, Cent. xvi. Part ii. Chap. iii. 9 note in loc.

[8] Buck, in his Theo. Dic. art. Anabap. has some just remarks on

posed these sects would have excited general attention, much less that alarm which prevailed through Germany and the low countries. Historians, fired by the common impulse, seized on these things as the distinguishing features of the sects, and have contemplated them altogether as a race of men, void of principle, setting laws, order and true religion at defiance, and wishing to overwhelm the world in a flood of licentiousness. These charges are made very readily; but, we think, are far from being well supported. It is universally allowed that they put on the appearance of great sanctity, and subjected themselves to mortifications, facts not to be accounted for, if these charges can be sustained against all of them. They were studious of the Scriptures, and behaved with great fortitude in all their sufferings. One of the principal crimes laid to their charge, is that they maintained a community of women. In doubting this, we differ from historians of the first respectability. We will insert here therefore, a paragraph from Bayle, and leave it to have its proper weight upon

this subject. "It must be acknowledged that the true rise of the insurrections of this period, ought not to be attributed to religious opinions. The first insurgents groaned under severe oppressions, and took up arms in defence of their civil liberties; and of these commotions the Anabaptists seem rather to have availed themselves, than to have been the prime movers. That a great part were Anabaptists seems indisputable; at the same time it appears from history, that a great part also were Roman Catholics, and a still greater part of those who had scarcely any religious principles at all. Indeed, when we read of the vast numbers that were concerned, in these insurrections, of whom ti is reported that 100,000 fell by the sword, it appears reasonable to conclude that they were not all Anabaptists."

the reader's mind. "Perhaps I shall not be mistaken in conjecturing that the writers of Heretical Catalogues have forged this chimera (community of women) by giving a bad turn through ignorance or malice, to one of the consequences of the doctrine of equality of condition. It is certain that the Anabaptists, at first, taught this equality; the consequence of which was, that a young lady of a good family, ought not to refuse propositions of marriage from the son of a peasant, and that a gentleman ought not to decline the courtship of a country girl. If our catalogue writers built the absurd doctrine which they impute to the Anabaptists upon this foundation, are they less impertinent than the doctrine *itself?*"*

That the doctrine of Universal Salvation was maintained by some of the Anabaptist sects, is not to be doubted, though it is impossible, at this day,

* Bayle's Hist. and Crit. Dic. art. Anab. See also the following extract. "The Anabaptists have been reproached as being bad citizens, disturbers of the public repose, as not being willing to render to the Magistrate the obedience which is his due. This accusation appears to me a little vague. I could wish their opponents had been more particular. Perhaps they wished to exact oaths of them. Jesus Christ did not approve of oaths; and besides is not a simple promise as good as an oath? The one is of as much value as the other. Oaths have been designed to impress a sense of duty more stongly upon the commonality and the ignorant; but whether I raise my hand towards heaven, or lay it on a Holy Book, as was commonly practised heretofore, or hold it in the pocket of my habit, when I make a promise, is it not the same thing? Perhaps the Magistrates of Zurich demanded that they should renounce their errors, and should believe like them, and like Zuinglius their apostle. In that case ought they to have obeyed and violated their conscience?" Bibliotheque Raisonnee, for April, May and June, 1774.

to tell how extensively it was received among them, or in what forms it was holden. Evans, in his Sketch of the denominations of the christian World,[0] and after him, Mr. Adam, in his Religious world Displayed,[1] have asserted that the German Baptists before the Reformation propagated this sentiment. It is declared by Maimbourg and Lamy, in their history of Arianism,[2] "that the Anabaptists of the Upper and Lower Rhine, at least, some of them, held that the torments of the devils and of the damned would have an end, and the apostate angels be reinstated in their first condition at the creation." "To this capital error," says the writer in a French Encyclopedia,[3] "the Anabaptists added many others from the Gnostics and ancient heretics: viz. Some have denied the divinity of Jesus Christ, and his descent into hell; others have maintained that the souls of the dead sleep until the day of judgment, and that the pains of hell are not eternal." Another eminent writer[4] of the 17th century, asserts, that "the Anabaptists, in the last century, undertook to maintain that all the damned, and even the devils themselves, would at length be saved, and that an end would be put to their punishments or torments which their sins deserve." The same writer informs us, on the authority of D. Wigandus, that Johannes Denckius, attempted in a public writing to defend that doctrine, and that

0 Art. Universalists. 1 Art. Universal Restoration.
2 Webster's Translation, Westminster 1735, p. 74.
3 Encyclopedie, par une Societie de gens de lettres. Paris, 1751.
4 Quinstedii Syst. Theolog. part i. p. 575.

Stanislaus Pannonius published a book, entitled *De Divina Philanthropia*, in support of the same sentiment. But the most conclusive of all testimony in proof that the doctrine of Universalism was held by these sects, is the XVII art. of the Augustin Confession, in which they are expressly condemned for maintaining it. The Augustin Confession, as the most of readers know, was that confession of the faith of the Protestants which was drawn up by Melancthon, and presented to the Emperor Charles V. at the diet of Augsburg, in the name of the whole Protestant body. In this confession the principles of the Protestants were developed, the reasons why they separated from the Church of Rome were set forth, and the errors of the sects called *heretical* were pointed out and condemned. In the 17th article they say they maintain, "that Christ shall appear in the end of the world to judgment, and that all the dead shall be raised; that to the pious and elect he will give eternal life and happiness, but that impious men and the devil he will condemn to torment without end." Herein, they say, "they condemn the Anabaptists, who maintain that there shall be an end to the punishments of the damned and of the devils."[1] It is not stated in this Confession what particular sects of the Anabaptists held to this doctrine, nor how extensively it had spread among them; but it is to be supposed from the circumstance of their being condemned in

[1] Hist. of Augustin Confession by David Chytræus.

this manner, that the sentiment was held by some of their most eminent men.

VII. Another sect which arose about this time, and which falls within the design of this work, was the Libertines, of whom we are not to judge by the bad sense in which the name given to them has since been used. It arose in Flanders, and afterward got footing in France, through the power of Margaret, queen of Navarre, and sister to Francis I. Francis, in himself of no religion whatever, bestowed his favor on Catholics or Protestants just as his political policy required. Although at times vehement and unreasonable in his opposition to the Reformers, he permitted their doctrines to be disseminated in his kingdom. Margaret, a woman of a highly cultivated mind, had early manifested a strong attachment to the principles of the Reformation, and by the influence which she had over her brother, who most fondly loved her, she secured royal favor to those men of liberal principles whom she invited into France. During the intervals of favor which the Protestants enjoyed, they constituted several churches, in some of which the Libertines found patrons. Of the sentiments of this sect we can learn nothing except through the writings of their adversaries, who, in the true spirit of the age in which they lived, have not been sparing of reproaches and calumnies. Much as the Reformed and Lutheran churches differed in some points, they agreed in treating heretics with the utmost rigor and contempt. From the writings of their oppo-

nents we learn, that the Libertines considered God to be the author of all human actions, and it is said, how truly it is not known, that they denied the distinction between good and evil. Religion, in their view, consisted in the union of the mind with God; and they maintained that, all who had arrived at this happy union might live without restraint, as all their actions and pursuits were then perfectly innocent. They held that after death men were to be united to the Deity.[6] Calvin was their most eminent opponent; who, after waiting some time, that the sect might die of itself, found it necessary, as it was coming into royal favor in France, to write against it.[7] It flourished principally in Brabant and Holland. Its members professed to be governed by the influence of the divine spirit upon their hearts; and they enforced the moral duties upon mankind. The common view of the personal existence of the Devil they rejected, as they did also that of endless punishment.[8]

VIII. In considering the Anabaptists, we should, perhaps, give a particular attention to David George, the founder of a new sect, who after him were called Davidians, and Georgians. He was a native of Delft, and at first an Anabaptist. His liberality and opulence joined to his probity and purity of manners, obtained for him a very high esteem, which he enjoyed until his death. After his de-

[6] Mosheim Cen. xvi. Part ii. chap. ii. 38. [7] See Calvin's work entitled "Instructio adversus Sectam Libertinorum." [8] G. P. Marcossii Elenchus Alphabeticus Hæreticorum. Art. Libertini et Gnostici.

cease he suffered considerably by means of charges prefered against him by his son in law, Nicholas Blesdyck; and the Senate of Basil, the place in which he died, passed sentence against him, and, in the true spirit of a God who can inflict endless torture, ordered that his body be dug up and burned. These charges, however, did not affect his reputation for virtue; but respected erroneous opinions only. Moshiem speaks of his character with tenderness, and declares that his writings, and the followers whom he left behind, show that he was a man of much more mildness and sense than had been usually attributed to him.[9] He deplored the decline of vital and practical religion, and endeavoured to restore it among his followers.

Of his religious opinions it is almost impossible to obtain a tolerable account. Whether he maintained the visionary notions attributed to him, it is impossible to tell. He is said to have denied the existence of angels, the common opinion of heaven and hell, and the doctrine of a future judgment. His followers existed for many years in Holstein, Friesland and other countries.

IX. All these sects were persecuted by their opponents, both civil and ecclesiastic, with the most unrelenting indignation. Catholics and Protestants, kings and subjects, united in their extermination; but perhaps, after all, we must award the palm of preeminence in this cruel undertaking, to the Re-

[9] Moshiem Eccles. Hist. Cent. xvi. Part ii. chap. iii. 24.

formers themselves. In extenuation of this it may be plead that the Anabaptists were seditious, and aimed at the overthrow of all human government, a charge which can be sustained against a small part of them. But those who had no such designs, who held it unlawful to bear arms, and who desired to throw off human authority in matters of religion only, were condemned to the most extreme sufferings. Luther cried aloud for the suppression of these sects, and the mild Melancthon, with all the principal Reformers, assisted in refuting their doctrines, and bringing them to punishment. There is no difficulty in accounting for their conduct in this particular. They were fearful that the Reformation would be brought into disrepute, and this fear was increased by the continual clamor of the Catholics, that the increase of sects was wholly to be attributed to that event. Moreover, the opinions of the Reformers were called in question by those who, in throwing off the authority of the Pope, held it as a right to form their judgment without accountability to any body of men. With the same arguments by which Luther and his followers justified themselves in dissenting from the Catholic Church, did the Anabaptists assert the privilege of differing from them; and when the former railed because the latter ventured to set up new dogmas and introduce new divisions, it was very natural to apply their own arguments to their great disadvantage. Inspired with the common zeal to read the scriptures, the new sects made themselves very fa-

miliar with the letter at least, and divine authority was adduced in the one case as much as in the other. Had the leading Protestants justified the Anabaptists in asserting new opinions, deploring, at the same time, if they felt themselves obliged, that these opinions were erroneous, they would not have put into the hands of the Catholics that weapon by which they were so frequently wounded. But it constitutes a most striking contradiction in their character, that while they maintained their right to separate from the Mother Church, and to express and maintain their opinions, they justified the infliction of penalties on those who refused to conform to their standards of faith and worship.

X. Pursuant to these feelings measures were immediately taken to suppress the Anabaptist sects. Severe edicts were issued against them, and, at length, capital punishments were resorted to. As early as 1525 penal laws were enacted to suppress them in Saxony, which were several times renewed in succeeding years. Even the Emperor Charles V. in the years 1527 and 1529, joined in the work of proscription and death. The Magistrates of Switzerland, disposed at first to lenity and indulgence, soon lost their mildness, and exercised their power, by denouncing the punishment of death against the common offenders.[o] Not only in these places, but in nearly all the countries of Europe, the Anabaptists endured the most cruel and rigor-

[o] Moshiem, Cen. vi. Part ii. chap. iii. 6.

ous treatment. They were imprisoned, banished, slain by the sword and burned. The innocent and guilty were involved in the same destruction. Those whose only fault consisted in unsoundness of faith, met a like fate with such as were seditious and treasonable. Many of these had embraced their doctrines in the utmost sincerity, and labored to produce what they thought was a needful reformation in the lives and manners of men. But little distinction was made. Incurable heretics who were loyal subjects, were involved in a common extermination with those who desired to overthrow the civil institutions of the world.

The descendants of these unhappy men have preserved voluminous records of their numbers, names, lives and sufferings. The instances which they afforded of devotion to their principles, even while burning, are indeed worthy of preservation. They bore their afflictions with a meekness and an intrepidity which are rarely accompanied with insincerity. Nor did these persecutions arrest the increase of their numbers, for they seem to have had the most adherents while the tempest of persecution was at its height, so true is the proverb, that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church." Zuinglius, who seems in this instance to have lost his accustomed benevolence and liberality, asserted that he who repeated the ordinance of baptism should be drowned. All the principal Reformers wrote against them, and the most energetic measures were taken to procure their condemnation by all ecclesiastical bodies.

It should not be thought, however, that these sects suffered solely for believing in the doctrine of Universal Salvation. How extensively the sentiment was received among them is not known; and it is certain that their views concerning baptism were as obnoxious as any article of their faith. Yet they were regarded as worthy of special condemnation in the Augustin Confession,[1] for believing in the eventual restoration of all men to holiness and happiness. The Papists, in their reply to the Confession, found it to be one of those few things in which they could agree with the Protestants, to denounce those who held that the mercy of God is over all his works, and that he will finally crown them with universal blessedness. It is worthy of remark here, that the doctrine of endless

1 Luther and Melancthon were the authors of the Augustin Confession. That the religious opinions of the Protestants, and their grounds of complaint against the Church of Rome, might be made known to the Emperor Charles V. at the diet which commenced at Augsburg, June, 1530, the Elector of Saxony directed Luther and other eminent divines to commit them to writing. The first draft contained seventeen articles, and was presented to the Elector at Torgaw; but it being desirable that the Protestants should express their views with great mildness, and more in detail, Melancthon was appointed to extend the articles. Although the Confession was from the pen of Melancthon, he showed a great regard to the counsels of Luther in drafting it.

The following is the 17th article.

Art. XVII. Item docent, quod Christus apparebit in consummatione mundi ad judicandum, et mortuos omnes resuscitabit, piis et electis dabit vitam æternam et perpetua gaudia, impios autem homines ac diabolos condemnabit, ut sine fine crucientur.

Damnant Anabaptistas, qui sentiunt, hominibus damnatis ac diabolis finem pœnarum futurum esse. Damnant et alios, qui nunc spargunt Judaicas opiniones, quod ante resurrectionem mortuorum, pii regnum mundi occupaturi sint, ubiq; oppressis impiis. Hist. of Aug. Confess. by David Chytræus.

misery cannot be regarded as *a doctrine of the Reformation*. For although, as we have seen, Universalism was condemned in the Confession, the Reformers were not distinguished by the assertion of endless misery from the Catholics, as they were by maintaining the supreme authority of the word of God, and the right of private judgment. For ten centuries the Catholic Church had asserted the eternal ruin of all those who died out of its communion; hence, the doctrine of endless torment is not *a doctrine of the Reformation*: it was one of those foul spots which were cast upon the fair garments of the Church as she descended into the valley of corruption, from which those failed to cleanse her whose half-opened eyes had never seen her entire glory.

XI. The severe treatment which the Anabaptists received, was the means of dispersing them abroad. Some were driven from their homes by banishment, others fled from the gathering storm. Wherever they went they carried their sentiments with them; and zeal in their defence was quickened by their sufferings. At length arose Menno, a convert from Popery, who at first privately, and afterwards openly, with the greatest devotion, espoused the cause of these injured men. He travelled from country to country, correcting their errors, and encouraging their hearts. He condemned the views which some entertained of the rise of a spiritual kingdom in the world, upon the ruins of all civil government. He retained their sentiments concerning baptism,

the thousand years reign of Christ upon the earth, (with which they had associated that of Universal Restitution) and also concerning the injustice of war, and the unlawfulness of oaths. The followers of Menno still exist in some European countries, particularly in Holland; and also in the United States; nor have they forgotten the faith of their fathers, for if the authority of Evans and Adam is to be depended on, they "have long held the doctrine of the Restoration."

CHAPTER II.

THE REFORMATION IN ENGLAND. SPREAD OF THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANABAPTISTS, AND OTHER SECTS; AND THEIR CONDEMNATION.

1. It was during the reign of the notorious Henry VIII. that the Reformation began in England. Like the rest of the European countries, this kingdom had been gradually induced to acknowledge the authority of the Pope, and to assist in supporting his power and dignity. But, at the time of which we write, the faults of the clergy began to attract attention; and a disposition arose as soon in this country as in any other, among the controllers of civil matters, to expose the wickedness of ecclesiastics, and set bounds to their power. The art of printing had been introduced into England as early as 1464, by the joint means of Henry VII. and Archbishop Bourchier, which had tended, in no small degree, to enlighten the people, and to give them that taste for improvement which it is certain they so much needed. When this monarch obtained a confirmation of his disputed title to the Crown of England, his opponents did not hesitate to say that the Pope could not give him a title which he had not in reality; and it cannot be denied that with respect to

civil matters, the power of the Pope was very sensibly diminished. But between the Church of England and that of Rome, there was perhaps as perfect a union at the accession of Henry VIII. as there had been in any preceding reign. The followers of Wickliffe were persecuted, and some of them suffered death; the use of Tyndal's translation of the New Testament into English was prohibited by every Bishop in his diocess, and great care was taken to suppress books in favor of the Reformation, which had begun to come into England, with considerable profusion, from Germany. King Henry had been educated by his father for the Church; and when, upon the death of his brother Arthur, he became heir apparent to the Crown, he was kept to his studies, lest his restless and fiery spirit should induce him to set up a dangerous competition for the throne, which devolved on him, through the line of the house of York, by the death of his mother.[2] Thus qualified for a theologian according to the forms and usages of that period, Henry felt in himself the ability to manage disputes of a religious as well as of a secular character; and when the works of Luther reached England, he stepped forth as the champion of the Church, to defend her against the sentiments of the Reformer. A copy of the work he wrote, very richly bound, was presented by an ambassador to the Pope. Engaged in a dispute with France, the Holy Father stood in great need

[2] Warner's Ecclesiastical History of the Church of England.

at that time of Henry's assistance; and knowing his vanity, he believed he could in no other manner please him so well as to bestow upon his book the highest strains of praise, and honor him with some new and flattering appendage to his name. The Pope called his Cardinals together, and after a long debate, it was agreed to confer on him the glorious title of *Defender of the Faith*, which his successors ever since have borne. Luther, daunted neither by the Pontiff nor his royal auxiliary, answered the King's work, and turned back upon him his torrent of acrimony.

The arbitrary will of Henry thus far had decided against the Reformation; but when the Court of Rome came to oppose his wishes in regard to a divorce from Catharine, and persisted in their opposition until Henry broke peace with them, he used all his efforts to destroy the authority of the Pontiff in every part of his realm. His father, instigated by the love of wealth, and not wishing to refund the money he had received in part of Catharine's dower, had contracted for his marriage with her; but he, then only in his fourteenth year, protested against the consummation of a nuptial connexion with his brother's widow, as being contrary to the laws of God. Whether he had serious doubts, or whether the protestations were made for other reasons, cannot here be considered. On the death of Henry VII. the Spanish Ambassador urged the marriage between the young King and Catharine, and the subject was debated in Council with great earn-

estness. By those who desired the connexion, the dispensation which the Pope had granted was urged in favor of its lawfulness, and the matter was finally settled in about two months after Henry's accession. But the union proved to be neither a long nor a happy one. In a few years the person of the queen became offensive to him. He was attracted too, and very unluckily at that time, by the beauty and accomplishments of one of her maids of honor. To complete the course of untoward circumstances, while treating with the King of France for the marriage of his only daughter, the princess Mary, to the Duke of Orleans, the French Ambassador demurred to the legality of his connexion with Catharine, and, of course, to the legitimacy of the princess. Some one, if not all these reasons, gave him a wish, which was soon changed to a resolution, to obtain a divorce from the queen. He made application to the Pope for a bull of divorcement, who, after a long course of expedient and equivocation, enraged Henry with his delay, and induced him and his friends to use their utmost efforts to destroy the authority of the Pope, and set up that of the King as Supreme Head of the Church. Here we see the origin of the Reformation in England. Henry, however, had no intention of reforming the doctrines of the Church, as his severity against those who dissented from the established faith, even after his difficulty with the Pope, but too plainly showed.

Among those who devoted themselves to the advancement of the Reformation, Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, holds a conspicuous place. He had obtained the favor of the King by his early defence of the unlawfulness of his marriage with Catharine, and particularly by the book which he had published against it at Cambridge. He had visited Germany on the business of the King, where he had read the books of Luther, and become acquainted with many of the Reformers, by which means he was convinced of the usurpations of the Pope, and the errors of the Catholic Church. On the death of Warham, Henry resolved to raise Cranmer to the See of Canterbury. Obeying the call of his Sovereign with great reluctance, he returned from Germany, and providing himself with an inefficient salvo to his conscience, he took the oath of obedience to the Pope, and was advanced to the Arch-bishoprick. Soon the variance between the King and the Pontiff grew to an irreconcilable difficulty; the King was excommunicated; and, in return, he left no means untried to extirpate the authority of his adversary from the kingdom.[3]

II. While the King aimed at nothing more than transferring the power which the Pope possessed over the English Church into his own hands, it was the desire of Cranmer to reform its doctrines, and diffuse the knowledge of pure religion among the

[3] Nearly the whole of this account of the Reformation in England is taken from Warner's Eccles. Hist. of Church of England, to which the author confesses himself much indebted.

people. He used his influence, therefore, to obtain the King's consent for a translation of the Bible into the English language. There was much division in the minds of the Bishops on the propriety of placing the Bible in the hands of the nation generally. Those opposed, endeavored to convince the King, that such a measure would introduce new heresies, puff up the people with the pride of their own opinions, and thereby diminish their reverence of the King as Supreme Head of the Church. The other class, with Cranmer at their head, directing their arguments also to the vanity of the King, assured him that nothing would exalt him so highly in the esteem of his subjects, as a desire to instruct them in the principles of religion ; and moreover, that when they came to read for themselves, they would see that the ungodly power which the Pope had exercised was not granted to him in the word of God. The latter argument prevailed with the King, and he gave orders for a new translation of the scriptures.

This was the first translation which was made by authority, though the Bible had been several times translated into English before, and some had suffered for attempting such a work. Wickliffe, in ~~1600~~, prepared a translation, which was never in general use. Nearly two centuries had transpired when Tyndal and Coverdale translated and printed the New Testament in English, but in consequence of some reflections cast upon the Clergy in the preface and notes, it was suppressed and burnt. With an in-

vincible resolution to spread the scriptures, Tyndal translated the whole Bible, except the Apocrypha, and printed it abroad; but while preparing a second edition, he was seized, and burnt in Flanders for his adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation. The work he had undertaken was carried on by his former associate, Miles Coverdale, and John Rogers, the first martyr in Queen Mary's reign, who was then minister of an English Church in Germany. They translated the Apocrypha, revised Tyndal's translation, comparing it with the Hebrew, Greek, Latin and German; and, making free use of Luther's Bible, they added prefaces and notes. This has usually been called Matthews' Bible, because Rogers dedicated it to the King of England, under the assumed name of Thos. Matthews. A degree of royal favor was shown to this translation, but it was soon succeeded by that published under authority. Henry directed that a copy of the latter should be placed in each parish Church, where, according to Hume, it was fixed by a chain. He issued a proclamation, acquainting the people that the permission to read the Bible was an act of his goodness, and not of his duty, and that they were to read it not for dispute and wrangling, nor to expound difficult passages without the assistance of the learned. In a short time after, permission was given them to read the Bible at their houses, as many had been deterred from a free use of the Scriptures by the fear of laying themselves under the suspicion of heresy. We must award to Cran

mer the praise of great influence in persuading the King to grant the privilege of reading the Scriptures. This was a task of no little danger, since it was zealously opposed by the Popish Bishops, who by flattery and cunning made much effect upon Henry's mind; and the favor of the King was so easily extinguished by insinuations and suspicions, that those who possessed his confidence, if such it might have been called, could not place any great reliance upon it. Under these circumstances Archbishop Cranmer did not hesitate to pursue the Reformation. He assisted in revising the translation of the Bible, and whenever he had a prospect of success, urged the King to those measures which had a tendency to enlighten the people, and open their eyes to the abuses of the Catholic Church. He had the mortification, however, in a short time, to see the use of the new translation forbidden by proclámation, and the books of some of the Reformers called in and burnt. There was another check to the Reformation. Learning had not been diffused among the people, and very few of them could read, so that but a small number had it in their power to avail themselves of the privilege which the zeal of the Archbishop had obtained for them. Heresies had been frequently punished with death during Henry's reign, and many were hindered from reading the books of the Reformers, and even the Bible, through fear of the stake. When suspicion had become excited, and a man's enemies had resolved on his destruction, there was but little

hope of deliverance. The power which the King possessed was as absolute as that which had ever been claimed by the Pope: the King was, in fact, the Pope of that nation. There was a strong party opposed to all innovations, at the head of which several of the Bishops were known to stand. Each party pursued its purpose, success crowning sometimes the one, and sometimes the other. At the death of Henry, power between them was nearly balanced; but in the accession of Edward, the Papists had but little to hope in favor of their cause.

Edward VI. came to the throne at the age of nine; and having been educated by preceptors of Cranmer's sentiments, he desired the advancement of the Reformation. The Archbishop stood first among the sixteen executors who had been, by the will of the late King, entrusted with the government of the kingdom during the minority of Edward; and relieved from his servitude to Henry, he resolved with greater zeal to set about a further Reformation. He had, however, powerful enemies yet to contend with. At the head of the opposite party was the princess Mary, afterward of notorious memory, the Earl of Southampton, Bishops Tonstal, Bonner and Gardner, with several others. It was Cranmer's wish to proceed by sure and slow degrees; but the Reformers, finding they had the King, the Protector and the Primate in their favor, pressed the work of Reformation with such zeal as to produce some disorders. The cruel laws which had been enacted in the past reign, and

which prevented the progress of reform, were now repealed. To supply the want of good preachers, a book of homilies to be read in the churches was composed, and a general visitation was appointed, that proper rules might be set up in every place, and the prevailing evils corrected. Subjects of dispute were freely introduced into the pulpit, and a bold and invigorating spirit of inquiry began generally to prevail.

III. The Bible, translated into English, being thus placed in the hands of the people, it is very reasonable to suppose that they were prompted by the exhortation of many of the Priests, as well as by their own inclinations, to make themselves acquainted with its contents. The friends of the Reformation were persuaded, that a diffusion of the true knowledge of the Scriptures would be a vast advantage to the cause they wished to promote; hence they made frequent appeals to this book against the enormities of the Church of Rome, and entreated the people to study it, as they would therein find a confirmation of the truth of the new doctrines. While many discouragements were thrown in the way of the Popish Priests, those who favored the Reformation enjoyed peculiar favor, preached under special license; and seeing that the arbitrary interpretations given to the Bible by the former were decreasing daily in public estimation, they did not hesitate, with loud exhortations, to call private judgment into exercise. These measures were seconded by the wish of the Re-

formers to make religion a concern of the understanding, and abolish mummery and form. The Church services which had formerly been in Latin, were now performed in English ; and attention was turned from images, from crosses, from relics, and from legends, to the contemplation of subjects of far greater importance. Such a change brought the Bible more into use, and men began to feel that religion was a matter of each one's own knowledge and conscience, to the examination and performance of which he should attend for himself, and not commit them to others.

IV. The consequences of this alteration, and of the efforts of the Reformers to spread a knowledge of the word of God, produced in England precisely the same effects that like causes had produced in Germany. That bold spirit which it was necessary to cultivate to induce the people to throw off the errors of Popery, was not, nor could it be confined within those limits which the leading Reformers had prescribed for it. It was their wish, and that of Cranmer in particular, to proceed slowly, to conform in some measure to the prejudices of the Papists, and to avoid the extremes of Reformation. This, he thought, was the most likely to be lasting. He wished rather, by the help of government, to set up a barrier against the return of Popery, than to correct all the prevailing speculative errors. He was afraid of bringing unnecessary odium on the Protestant cause by attempting too much at once. But had the Reformers good reason to suppose they

could restrain that high tide of feeling which they had raised up? and when they cut the moorings of the fragile bark of faith, by which the Pope had long held it under his power, and surrendered it to the current of Reformation, what good assurance could they have that it would stop at the point which they proposed? The irresistible course of improvement did not admit of it. Many propagated new opinions, which were heresies in the estimation of the Protestant King and his Council, as well as in that of the Papists. An enthusiastic strain of devotion succeeded to the dull rites and exterior observances of the ancient religion. "Many circumstances," says Hume, "concurred to inflame this daring spirit; the novelty itself of their doctrines, the triumph of making proselytes, the furious persecutions to which they were sometimes exposed, and their animosity against the ancient tenets and practices." All those who could read the Scriptures, would of themselves judge of their contents; and they very frequently came to different results in forming their opinions from what the principal Reformers had done. This caused a number of new sects to arise in the kingdom, differing essentially in the points of their faith from the Archbishop and his associates. Nor is it at all surprising that many strange and whimsical notions should have prevailed. The people had heard what little Scripture they were acquainted with, interpreted with the greatest license; reason and calmness maintained but a distant connexion with religion; just

rules of criticism were very little known, and biblical learning, such as now receives that appellation, little thought of. It is also just to decide, that some, losing their attachment to what had been considered sound, and judging of the meaning of the sacred writings without prejudice, would come to just conclusions. Upon these suppositions we very naturally and readily account for that general outbreaking of sects which happened upon the Reformation, and the distribution of the Scriptures among the people; and in examining the pages of ecclesiastical history, we find what we might expect, a variety of opinions strange and new, some of more, some of less extravagance, and some rational and scriptural. Thos. Becon, a Chaplain to Cranmer, lamented the rise of these sects in the following strain, which the Papists with great readiness applied to all the Protestants: "what wicked and ungodly opinions are there sown now-a-days of the Anabaptists, Davidians, Libertines, and such other pestilent sects, in the hearts of the people, unto the great disquieting of Christ's Church, moving rather unto sedition, than unto pure religion, unto heresy than unto things Godly."[4]

But there is yet another circumstance which contributed very essentially to the rise of these sects in England. Many of the German Protestants had come to that country, and labored assiduously to cultivate their opinions. Reformation having be-

[4] Becon's work was entitled Jewel of Joy. See Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Book ii. Chap. 33.

gun in both countries, a free intercourse was maintained between them. Several Reformers of eminence moved into England, and to some of them places were assigned in the Universities. The persecution which was carried on against the Anabaptists and other sects in Germany and the Low Countries, drove many of them abroad for security. They had a hope, perhaps, that the vigor with which the Reformation was pushed in England, and the repeal of the most cruel statutes, might save them from that destruction with which they were threatened in their own countries, and therefore, flocked thither to take refuge under a mild administration.[5]

5 A tolerable judgment of the feeling commonly possessed towards heretics, and of the punishment which was thought proper for them, may be formed from the following antique rhyme, entitled "*Vain writers, vain talkers, vain hearers,*" written by Robert Cowley, a learned printer, in the year 1550, and placed among his Epigrams; by which, it is said, "a notable insight is given into matters, customs and abuses of these times." Strype's Memorials, ii. 266.

Of late as I lay and lacked my rest,
At such tyme as Titan drew fast to the East,
Thys saying of Christ came into my mynde,
Which certain and true al maner men shal fynde;
Of every idle word ye shal give a Reckonyng,
Be it spoken by Mouth, or put in Wrytinge.
O Lord, thought I then, what case be they in,
That talk and write vainly, and think it no syn?
Then slombred I a little, and thought that I saw
Three sorts of vayn menne condempned by God's law.

The one was a Wryter of things nought and vayn,
And another a Talker; and this was theyr payn:
The Wryter had the crowne of hys Head opened,
Whose Brayns with a styck the Talker styrred.
And he with both hands drew the Talker's Tongue
So that withowt hys Mouth it was a handful long:
The third was a Herkener of Fables and Lyes,
Whose Ears were almost drawn up to hys Eyes.

V. It is at this period we discover the first traces of Universalism in England, after the Reformation. How extensively it was received we have no means of knowing. It excited general attention, and was thought worthy of special condemnation in the XLII Articles of Faith which were framed in the latter part of Edward's reign. But the particular histories of these sects, if such were ever written, have perished; and all the accounts we have of them were drawn up by their enemies, who seem to have gloried in representing their sentiments in the worst possible point of view. The art of printing had been but lately discovered, few presses were set up in the Kingdom, and these were placed entirely out of the power of that class of people of whom we are speaking,—a circumstance which precludes all cause of wonder that no histories of these sects, written with impartiality and a full knowledge of their sentiments, have ever appeared.

VI. Those who ventured to depart from the doctrines of the principal Reformers, found themselves in the greatest danger of suffering for heresy, even at the time when the Reformation itself was advancing with unparalleled success. There were certain circumstances which prompted the Reformers to the exercise of this rigor against such as advanced with a bolder step in their departure from the errors of the Church than they. The Catholics were continually reminding them, that if they persisted in the work of innovation, they would not know where to stop; that they would split into a

thousand factions, and thus all unity in faith would be lost. "'Tis a dangerous thing," said a Catholic Bishop, "to use too much freedom in researches of this kind. If you cut the old canal, the water is apt to run farther than you have a mind to. If you indulge the humor of novelty, you cannot stop a people's demands, nor govern their indiscretions at pleasure."[6] With respect to the translation of the Bible, the Catholics in the reign of Henry, had plead, "that the poetical style in which a great part of it was composed, at the same time that it occasioned uncertainty in the sense, by its multiplied tropes and figures, was sufficient to kindle the zeal of fanaticism, and thereby throw civil society into the most furious combustion: that a *thousand sects must arise*, which would pretend each of them to derive its tenets from the Scriptures; and would be able by specious arguments to seduce many into a belief of the most dangerous principles. And if ever this disorder, dangerous to the Magistrate himself, received a remedy, it must be from the tacit acquiescence of the people in some new authority; and it was evidently better, without farther contest or inquiry, to adhere peaceably to ancient, and therefore, the more secure establishments."[7] In order to guard against this danger of which the Catholics forewarned them, the Reformers prescribed certain limits, beyond which they would not go. To use the words of a late writer, "the lead-

[6] Hume. [7] Ib.

ing men amongst them, seem to have entered into a sort of compact not to transgress these limits themselves, nor suffer them to be transgressed by others. The moment, therefore, that any one, more bold or more enlightened than the rest, presumed to go a single step beyond them, not only Catholics but Protestants too, fell upon him; and the general treatment he received from his Protestant brethren was even more severe than that which he received from the Catholics; as the former opposed him not only as sinning against the truth, but as bringing a great scandal on the Reformation."[8] The Reformers had their pride of opinion also to urge them on in their opposition to the new sects. They, it is true, had departed from the Papal Church with virtue; but others could not depart from them without great sin. For the Catholics to persecute them for seceding from the mother Church, was a most egregious act of wickedness; but for them to stop heresy, and bring those to punishment who advanced farther than they, was an act of duty to God, the Kingdom, and the true Church. It is a fact which cannot be denied, that the Reformers set up an authority in matters of faith, very little to be preferred to that maintained by the Catholic Church; and heresy was punished under them with almost as much severity as it had been punished by the Papists.

The tenets of the Anabaptists prevailed to such an extent that complaint was made to the Council

[8] Christian Disciple.

that they were disseminating their errors, and making proselytes all over the Kingdom. It was thought necessary therefore, to issue a commission to the Primate, six other Bishops, the Secretaries of State, and several other divines, to search after and examine the heretics. They were instructed if they could induce them to recant, to enjoin penance and absolve them; but if they persisted in their opinions, to excommunicate, imprison them, and deliver them over to the secular authority. Among those who suffered was a woman, called Joan of Kent, whose principal heresy was a dissent from the common opinion of the incarnation of Christ. On being brought before the proper examiners, she declined recantation, and was adjuged worthy of burning. The young King at first refused to sign the warrant for her death. He thought it cruelty like that which the Reformers had condemned in the Papists, to put Christians to death for their opinions. Archbishop Cranmer, in this transaction, cast an indelible stain upon his own character. He used his influence with Edward to persuade him of the justice of her sentence, and maintained that burning was not too great a punishment for heresy, a sentiment which was afterward retorted upon him, when he himself was brought to the stake, in queen Mary's reign. The King was persuaded, with tears, at last to sign the warrant for her death, and she suffered with a constancy worthy of a better fate. A Dutch Anabaptist was sentenced to death for saying that the Fa-

ther only was God. When brought to the stake, he was in a transport of exultation; he hugged and caressed the faggots that were consuming him, "a species of frenzy," says Mr. Hume, "of which there is more than one instance among the martyrs of that age." Although these rigorous measures did not entirely root up and destroy the alleged heresies, they had the effect to silence the different sects, and produce at least an ostensible conformity to the established faith and worship.

VII. The more effectually to produce a uniformity of faith throughout the nation, especially among the Clergy, the doctrines of the Church were put into form, and XLII articles of religion were sent forth under the authority of the King. Cranmer had long been desirous to prepare this standard of national faith, but he waited impatiently until there should be such changes among the Bishops, as should prevent any serious opposition to the measure.[n] In the winter of 1552 the articles were made ready, and presented to an assembly of the Clergy in London. By what method they were compiled, it cannot now be said; but it is thought probable they were framed by Cranmer and Ridley, and sent to others to correct, or add to them, as they thought fit.[o] There were two particular objects which the Reformers had in view in preparing the Articles, viz. to guard against the errors of Popery on the one hand, and the new opinions which had been

[n] Warner, ii. 296.
[o] Strype's Memorials of Edward VI. chaps. xv. and xxii.

broached by the Anabaptists on the other.[1] Of these Articles the last seven are evidently directed against the errors of the Anabaptists. In the 36th, it is declared, that the Civil Magistrate is ordained and approved by God: that civil or temporal laws may punish christian men with death for heinous and grievous offences; and that it is lawful for christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons and to serve in the wars. Herein are condemned the opinions of those Anabaptists who maintained that all temporal authority was usurpation, and that it was unlawful for Christians to bear arms. In the 37th, it is asserted that the riches and goods of Christians are not common, against those Anabaptists who held to a community of goods. The 38th, maintains the lawfulness of oaths, by which those Anabaptists were condemned who believed that all oaths were unlawful. In the 39th, it is declared that "the resurrection of the dead is not past already." The opinion that men sleep, or are unconscious, until the resurrection, is condemned in the 40th Article. The 41st, condemns the Millenarians, and the 42nd. the Universalists, as follows:

XLII. *All men not to be saved at last.* "*They also deserve to be condemned, who endeavor to restore that pernicious opinion, that all men (though never so ungodly) shall at last be saved; when for a certain time, appointed by the*

[1] Broughton's Histor. Dic. Art. Articles of Religion.

Divine Justice, they have endured punishment for their sins committed." [2]

"Thus," says Bishop Burnet, "was the doctrine of the Church cast into a short and plain form: in which they took care both to establish the positive articles of Religion, and to cut off the errors formerly introduced in the time of Popery, or of late broached by the Anabaptists, and enthusiasts of Germany." [3] To use the words of Archdeacon Blackburn concerning the 42nd Article, "one may be pretty sure that this Article was not aimed at any error of Popery;" [4] there cannot remain any doubt, therefore, that it was designed here to condemn the Anabaptists, and other contemporary sects.

To set an example to the whole nation the King first subscribed the Articles with his own hand. They had been delayed a year since their preparation; and as Edward was drawing near his end, by a consumption, he would not refrain any longer from establishing them by authority. The Bishops were all required to subscribe, all persons wishing to enter holy orders, and all that officiated in the Churches, either in reading or preaching, or that held any benefice. Those who refused subscription were disabled from any preferment in the Church. The King wrote letters to the several Bishops, giving them directions, that if any who

[2] The XLII Articles at length, with the alterations that were made in them ten years after, in the reign of Elizabeth, may be found in Burnet's Hist. of Reformation, Vol. ii. Collec. of Records, p. 190.
[3] Burnet's Hist. of Ref. ii. 139. [4] Hist. View, p. 25.

held office under them should refuse to conform to the Articles, information was immediately to be lodged against them in the Council, that such measures might be adopted as the cause should require, and as should comport with justice and the laws.[5] A mandate was likewise sent to the University of Cambridge, requring that all Doctors and Bachelors in Divinity, and all Doctors of Law and Masters of Arts, should, before their creation, swear to them and subscribe them, and be denied their degrees on their refusal.[6]

VIII. But religion was destined to suffer a sad reverse in England soon after the promulgation of the Articles. Not a year had elapsed when the amiable Edward died; and the project of making the Lady Jane queen utterly failing, his death made way for the exaltation of his sister Mary, a bigotted Catholic, to the throne. The imprisoned Bishops and Clergy of the Catholic faith, received their liberty, and the Parliament which had so vigorously supported the Reformation under Edward, now became obsequious to every wish of the queen. Hooper, Latimer and Ridley, and very soon Cranmer, were brought to the stake, under circumstances of the most distressing character. By a removal of some Bishops, and by replacing others who had been deposed, the Convocation[7] also favored the

[5] Strype's Memorials of Edward VI. chaps. xv. and xxii.
[6] Warner, ii. 307.
[7] The Convocation was an Assembly of the Clergy for consultation upon matters ecclesiastical, in time of Parliament; and, as the Parlia-

Catholic religion. All the preachers throughout the kingdom were silenced, except those who should obtain a particular license; and all the statutes enacted concerning religion during the reign of Edward were repealed by one vote. The Convocation manifested its disapprobation of King Edward's XLII Articles, and denounced them as "full of heresies."[8] And as if to abolish all remembrance of the Reformation, a proclamation was issued against books of heresy, in which it was declared, "that whosoever had any of these books, and did not presently burn them, without reading them, or showing them to any other person, should be esteemed rebels; and without any farther delay, be executed by martial law."[9] It is not a wonder, that the writings of the early English Anabaptists, if any were printed, have not reached us, through the ordeal thus prepared for them.

IX. Happily for England, the reign of Mary did not embrace a period of six years. She was succeeded by her sister Elizabeth, a Protestant, and a woman possessed of many qualifications for the high station she filled. The Parliament, as obedient to the present as it had been to the preceding queen, passed an act confirming all the statutes relating to

ment consists of two distinct Houses, so does this; the one called the Upper House, where the Archbishops and Bishops sit severally by themselves; the other the Lower House, where all the rest of the Clergy are represented by their deputies. The examining and censuring of heretical and schismatical books was entrusted to the Convocation; but there lies an appeal to the King in Chancery, or his delegates.

[8] Warner, ii. 335. [9] Hume.

religion, which had been established in the reign of King Edward, and shortly the whole system of religion was restored again, as it had been set up by Cranmer and his associates. The queen, however, wished to advance the Reformation by gradual means, that she might not irritate her Catholic subjects, and she permitted some things to remain with which she would gladly have dispensed, except for this reason. Cranmer was succeeded in the See of Canterbury by Cardinal Pole, who dying about the same time with Mary, gave room for Elizabeth to raise to that high station, Matthew Parker, who had been her instructor, and who reluctantly left the retirement in which he had spent his days during Mary's reign. He was the second Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, and has the credit of having promoted the Reformation steadily and mildly. Not so much perplexed as Cranmer either by Catholics or Protestant heretics, he does not seem to have contracted that inveteracy against those, who in thinking for themselves, differed from their rulers. In about four years after her accession, Elizabeth gave a license to the Convocation to review the doctrine and discipline of the Church, when the Upper House began with the former, reducing the XLII Articles to XXXIX, the number which they retain to the present day. There were no very essential alterations made in the doctrine of the Articles, if we except the omission of the four which stand last in the original order of them, viz. that which declares that the Resurrection is

not past already, that which opposes the sleep of the soul until the resurrection, that which condemns the Millenarians, and that which condemns the Universalists. The change in the Articles may be attributed chiefly to the Archbishop ; but what were the particular reasons which dictated that the condemnation of Universalists should be omitted in the revision, we have not the means of knowing. Whether the Archbishop was himself favorable to their sentiment, or whether the occasion for the condemnation had passed away by the disappearance of the sects who had maintained it, (which it is hardly to be supposed could take place in the short term of ten years,) or whether, at this time, it was thought altogether an inoffensive and innocent error, we have not the means now of ascertaining. If we may hazard a conjecture, we should say the latter is the most probable supposition, inasmuch as we have no proofs that Parker was an Universalist ; or if he were, it is not to be believed that the whole Convocation agreed with *him*; nor can it be admitted that the Anabaptists had departed the kingdom.

X. It deserves to be remarked in this place, that from the time of the revision of the Articles, it has not been considered an offence, in the Church of England, to avow the doctrine of Universal Salvation. Some of her most eminent divines have maintained it, without incurring any displeasure or disability on that account. And perhaps there have been furnished as spirited arguments on both sides

of this question by members and divines of the English Church, as the world has ever seen. "It is owing to the moderation of our Church," says Dr. Hey, who seems himself to be in great doubt as to the truth of endless misery, "that we are not called upon to subscribe to the eternity of hell torments: nay, we are not required even to condemn those who presume to affirm that all men will be finally saved. * * * * Though one were inclined *to hope* with Dr. Hartley, that all men will be happy ultimately, that is, when punishment has done its proper work in reforming principles and conduct; yet to *affirm it* must always be presumption."[o]

[o] Hey's Norrisian Lectures, ii. 389, 390.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ENGLAND CONTINUED; ITS REAPPEARANCE; ITS CONDEMNATION BY THE PARLIAMENT; AND NOTICES OF ITS DEFENDERS DURING THIS PERIOD.

I. The fair prospects which dawned upon the Church of England in the commencement of Elizabeth's reign, were soon obscured by gathering clouds of discontent and schism. The queen, as "Supreme Head of the Church," claimed the prerogative to dictate to her subjects what religion they should profess, and what forms they should observe. This determination gave rise to that body of dissenters from the Established Church, denominated Puritans, who objected not only to the high claims of the queen, but to the Episcopal form of government, and to the retention of many of the forms of the Roman Church, particularly the vestments of the Clergy. Many of them, having been driven into other countries by the persecution under Mary, imbibed feelings which it was impossible to reconcile to what they denominated corruption and usurpation; and they suffered many privations, both among the clergy and people, rather than conform to the established authority and ceremonies. On the accession of James, who

had been educated in Scotland, they had strong hopes of a mitigation of their sufferings; but they soon learned that he entertained as high an opinion of the royal prerogative, both in civil and religious matters, as his predecessor. It was during the reign of this King, who wanted both modesty and good sense, that the version of the Scriptures now in common use, was prepared, by divines whose obsequiousness to his majesty's will, repaid him for the zeal with which he espoused the cause of the Established Clergy.

On the accession of Charles I. the difficulties which threatened the Church were by no means lessened, and a darker cloud soon came over the civil interests of the kingdom. Difficulties arose between the King and his Parliament on the subject of raising money, which continued to increase, until the partizans on each side rushed to arms, and involved the nation in all the horrors of civil war. To defend themselves the more resolutely against the forces of the King, the Parliament, urged on by the popular voice, called in the aid of the Scots, who were opposed vehemently to Episcopacy, and who had established the Presbyterian form of Church government. In an agreement which was formed between them and the Parliament, generally denominated the *Solemn League and Covenant*, it was mutually engaged to extirpate "Popery and Prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism and profaneness."[1] Thus the Church of England was abolish-

1 Hume.

ed, and it remained extinct until the Restoration in the person of Charles II.

Presbyterianism had not been long established, when a third great party began to take its rise in the kingdom. The King had been forced to give himself into the hands of the Scotch, by whom he was delivered over to the Parliament, and after a few short intervals of perplexing doubt, the hand of the executioner put an end to his troubles. Thus relieved of their common enemy, the popularity began to decline with which the measures of the Parliament had been sustained; and the army itself dictated rules to that body which for so many years had been the glory of the English nation. The principal officers of the army were a set of canting hypocrites; and being anxious above all things to take into their own hands the supreme power of the nation, they endeavored to abolish the Presbyterian government, and set up the system of the Independents. Having but few preachers to second their views, they undertook themselves to preach and pray publicly to the troops; and even the common soldiers turning divines, preached to one another, entered the pulpits of the churches where they quartered, and harrangued the people with great fervor. These measures were highly agreeable to the Independents scattered over the kingdom, and thus a party was formed which balanced very equally the power of the Presbyterians. The confidence of the nation in the Parliament had sensibly declined; it daily grew weaker by its own acts;

and at last Cromwell, whose military exploits had made him the idol of the people, by his own power dissolved this body, and placed himself at the head of authority.

II. During this period of high political dissension, that strict watch which had been kept to detect the rise of heresy must, in a great measure, have been relaxed. Printing had come into more general use, and now not only the Bible, but books on controverted subjects were distributed through the nation; and the taste for learning increasing in a corresponding degree, the people had the means of availing themselves of the privileges which the art of printing threw in their way. The multitude began to read and judge for themselves. We may emphatically term this an age of sects. The Puritans, after a long and vigorous dispute with the Established Church, had availed themselves of the political troubles, and accomplished their purposes. The Independents, bolder than the rest, had asserted and maintained their prerogatives. Besides these there was a multitude of lesser sects, among whom the descendants of the Anabaptists may be reckoned. Each one who felt the inclination became a preacher; and inculcated his views with much less restraint than formerly. It would be impossible to give a history of the great variety of opinions which were propagated at that time, some of which were undoubtedly false; nor is it necessary to the purpose of this history that it should be done. It is certain that Universalism prevailed to

a very considerable extent; and that men not only held that all shall eventually be saved, but rejected altogether the notion of punishment in the future state for the sins of this life; and these views were maintained, both in preaching and in writing, by some persons of talent and considerable eminence. From this period some of the works in defence of these sentiments have reached us, and, in a few cases, biographical sketches of those who defended them. The Presbyterians turned upon the Independents with the same accusations which the Catholics had set up against the Reformers, and charged them with being the cause of all the variety of opinions which prevailed. A certain writer, whose name was Thomas Edwards, always a Puritan at heart,[2] became as furious against the Independents and other sects which had risen, as he had been against the royalists; and, in a work which he published, he undertook the herculean task of giving an account of all the errors which prevailed, and of refuting them. Although his testimony is not always to be depended on, yet he may be believed when he declares that among other errors, the very existence of hell in the future state was denied, and that all men, and even the devils, shall be saved at last, "and shall see, feel, and possess blessedness to their everlasting salvation and comfort."[3]

III. The bitterness and zeal of the Presbyterians towards all who differed from them, were manifest-

[2] Biographia Britannica, art. Ed. [3] Gangrena, Part iii. p. 10, 11.

ed in the debates and statutes of Parliament. It is true, they had lost much of their influence in this body; and when the army was near, this influence was still more diminished; but they embraced the opportunity on one occasion, when some of their absconded members resumed their courage, and appeared again among them, to exhibit the cruel principles of their religion and their hearts, by passing such an ordinance against heretics, as cannot, says Mr. Warner, "be censured in terms of too great severity."[4] Universalists, among the rest, were made the objects of parliamentary indignation. All those who maintained that Jesus Christ was not the true God, or who taught that the bodies of men will not rise from the dead, or who denied the doctrine of a judgment in the future state for the sins of this life, were, by this act, to be committed to prison without bail; and, if on trial they were convicted, and did not abjure, they were to be punished without benefit of clergy, as in cases of felony.[5] This merciful body were disposed to show a degree of favor to those who admitted the doctrine of punishment in a future state, though such did not hold it to be endless; they decreed, therefore, not that they should suffer death, without benefit of clergy, but that, refusing, on conviction, to recant, they should be cast into prison, there to remain till they

[4] Eccle. Hist. of Church of England.

[5] Warner, ii. 571. Neal's Hist. Puritans, ii. 338, 339.

gave two sufficient sureties that they would maintain said error no more.[6]

[6] An act passed by the Parliament of England, May 2, 1648. Extracted from Scobell's Collection.

"For punishing Blasphemies and Heresies. For the preventing of the growth and spreading of heresy and blasphemy, be it ordained by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, that all such persons as shall from and after the date of this present ordinance willingly by preaching, teaching, printing or writing, maintain that there is no God, or that God is not present in all places, doth not know and foreknow all things, or that he is not Almighty, that he is not perfectly holy, or that he is not Eternal, or that the Father is not God, the Son is not God, or that the Holy Ghost is not God, or that they Three are not one eternal God: or that shall in like manner maintain and publish, that Christ is not God equal with the Father, or shall deny the manhood of Christ, or that the Godhead and manhood of Christ are several natures, or that the humanity of Christ is pure and unspotted of all sin; or that shall maintain and publish as aforesaid, that Christ did not die, nor rise from the dead, nor is ascended into heaven bodily, or that shall deny his death is meritorious in the behalf of believers; or that shall maintain and publish as aforesaid, that Jesus Christ is not the Son of God, or that the Holy Scripture (viz.) of the Old Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, 1 Kings, 2 Kings, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obediah, Jonah, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi. Of the New Testament, the Gospels according to Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. The Acts of the Apostles. Paul's Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians the first, Corinthians the second, Galatians, Ephesians, Phillipians, Collossians, Thessalonians the first, Thessalonians the second, to Timothy the first, to Timothy the second, to Titus, to Philemon, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of James, the first and second Epistle of Peter, the first, second and third Epistles of John, the Epistle of Jude, the Revelation of John, is not the word of God, or that the bodies of men shall not rise again after they are dead, *or that there is no day of judgment after death*, all such maintaining and publishing of such error or errors, with obstinacy therein, shall by virtue hereof be adjudged felony, and all such persons upon complaint or proof made of the same in any of the cases aforesaid, before any two of the next justices of the peace for that place or county, by the oaths of two witnesses (which said justices of peace in such cases shall hereby have power to administer) or confession of the party, the said party so accused shall be by the said justices of peace committed to prison without bail or mainprise, until the next gaol delivery to be hold-

It will undoubtedly be a matter of surprise to every person, that immediately after the enactment of these laws, the doctrine designed to be abolished by them should be avowed and defended with unusual zeal; yet such was the fact; and we adduce it as evidence of the insufficiency of human laws to

en for that place or county, and the witnesses likewise shall be bound over by the said justices unto the said gaol delivery to give in their evidence; and at the said gaol delivery the party shall be indicted for feloniously publishing and maintaining such error, and in case the indictment be found, and the party upon his trial shall not abjure his said error, and defence and maintenance of the same, he shall suffer the pains of death, as in case of felony without benefit of clergy.

But in case he shall recant or renounce and abjure his said error or errors, and the maintenance and publishing of the same, he shall nevertheless remain in prison until he shall find two sureties, being subsidy men, that shall be bound with him before two or more justices of the peace or gaol delivery, that he shall not henceforth publish or maintain as aforesaid, the said errors any more: and the said justices shall have power hereby to take bail in such cases.

And be it further enacted, that in case any person formerly indicted for publishing and maintaining of such erroneous opinion or opinions, as aforesaid, and renouncing and abjuring the same, shall nevertheless again publish and maintain his said former error or errors, as aforesaid, and the same proved as aforesaid, the said party so offending shall be indicted as aforesaid. And in case the indictment be then found upon the trial, and it shall appear that formerly the party was convicted of the same error, and publishing and maintaining thereof, and renounced and abjured the same, the offender shall suffer death as in case of felony, without benefit of clergy.

Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and every person or persons, that shall publish or maintain as aforesaid, any of the several errors hereafter ensuing, viz. *that all men shall be saved*, or that man by nature hath free will to turn to God, or that God may be worshipped in or by pictures or images, or that the soul of any man after death goeth neither to heaven or hell, but to purgatory, or that the soul of man dieth or sleepeth when the body is dead, or that Revelations or the workings of the spirit are a rule of faith or Christian life, though diverse from or contrary to the written word of God; or that man is bound to believe no more than by his reason he can comprehend; or that the Moral Law of God contained in the ten commandments is no rule of Christian life; or that a believer need not repent or pray for the pardon of sins; or that the two Sacraments

arrest the progress of free inquiry, and of the disposition of those in whom the love of truth is the predominant passion, to set arrogant rulers at defiance, and to defend their sentiments at the risk of liberty and life. It should however, be remarked, that the political troubles of the times, by preventing a rigid execution of the statutes relating to religion, gave to the various sects an opportunity of

of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are not ordinances commanded by the word of God, or that the baptizing of infants is unlawful, or such baptism is void, and that such persons ought to be baptized again, and in pursuance thereof shall baptize any person formerly baptized; or that the observation of the Lord's Day as it is enjoined by the laws and ordinances of this Realm, is not according, or is contrary to the word of God, or that it is not lawful to join in publique prayer, or family prayer, or to teach children to pray, or that the Churches of England are no true churches, nor their ministers and ordinances true ministers and ordinances, or that the Church governed by Presbytery is anti-christian or unlawful, or that Magistracy or the power of the civil magistrate by law established in England is unlawful, or that all use of arms though for the publique defence (and be the cause never so just) is unlawful, and in case the party accused of such publishing and maintaining of any of the said errors shall be thereof convicted to have published and maintained the same as aforesaid, by the testimony of two or more witnesses upon oath, or confession of the said party before two of the next justices of the peace for the said place or county, whereof one to be of the quorum, (who are hereby required and authorized to send for witnesses and examine upon oath in such cases, in the presence of the party) the party so convicted shall be ordered by the said justices to renounce his said errors in the publique congregation of the same parish from whence the complaint doth come, or where the offence was committed, and in case he refuseth or neglecteth to perform the same, at or upon the day, time and place appointed by the said justices, then he shall be committed to prison by the said justices, until he shall find two sufficient sureties before two justices of peace for the said place or county (whereof one shall be of the quorum) that he shall not publish or maintain the said error or errors any more.

Provided always, and be it ordained by the authority aforesaid, that no attainder by virtue hereof shall extend, either to the forfeiture of the estate real or personal of such person attainted, or corruption of such person's blood."

promulgating their sentiments with greater impunity. The officers of justice, excited by multiplying and conflicting interests, were rendered inattentive, excepting when urged on by the clergy, to violations of laws, designed to guard the purity of the Church. Besides, where laws of this kind are numerous, and are also continually receiving accessions to their number, they become less efficacious, and rather promote the cause they were enacted to restrain. Nor should it be forgotten that the authority of the Parliament was greatly lessened. The rise of the Independents checked the Presbyterians in their mad course, and, at the time of which we are speaking, the former was, perhaps, the predominant sect. Of all the christian sects which had then sprung up, they were the most favorable to toleration. They would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement to any system of doctrine. Every one was by them permitted to preach as he felt himself moved thereunto. It was, as we have said, during the absence of the army, the chief prop of the Independents, that the Parliament passed these cruel statutes; and we may judge, whether any laws they passed, which were opposed by the former, could have much force. The danger of violating them could at no time be great, and must have lessened as the Independents increased

in number, until under the Protector it entirely ceased.[7]

IV. Gerard Winstanley occupies a place among those who defended Universalism at this period. Of his character and standing in society little is known, except what may be inferred from those of his works which have reached us. Regardless of the penalties to which he knew he would expose himself by avowing, and more particularly by publicly defending his favorite doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all mankind, he, at this period, wrote and published several small works on this subject; and it is a coincidence which ought to be remembered, that one of these works was published in London during the sitting of Parliament, and bears date in the same month in which the cruel laws just mentioned passed in that body.[8] This author had before publicly defended the same doctrine, and continued to do it for several years afterward. Many chimeras were intermingled with the truths he maintained, and he partook largely of the disposition which then prevailed, to give to the whole Scriptures an allegorical sense. It is probable he was not a man of learning; but for stern devotion to truth, and patience under afflictions of various kinds, he deserves the highest praise. On the subject of man's final destiny, he says, "The mystery of God is this, God will bruise this Serpent's head,

[7] Hume.

[8] The statute was enacted May 2, 1648. Winstanley's work was published the 20th of the same month.

and cast that murderer out of heaven, the human nature, wherein it dwells in part, as in the man Christ Jesus, and he will dwell in the whole creation in time, and so deliver all mankind out of that bondage. This I see to be a truth, both in my own experience, and by testimony of Scripture, as God is pleased to teach me. * * * * But this mystery of God is not to be done all at once, but in several dispensations, some whereof are past, some are in being, and some are yet to come; but when the mystery of God is absolutely finished, or, as the Scriptures say, the Son hath delivered up the kingdom to the Father, this will be the conclusion, that God's work shall be redeemed and live in God, and God in it; but the creature's work without God shall be lost and perish. Man, Adam, or whole creation of mankind, which is God's work, shall be delivered from corruption, bondage, death and pain, and the Serpent that caused the fall, shall *only* perish."[9] Again, he says, "What is the doctrine of the gospel of Jesus Christ? What Jesus Christ is, I have showed before. The doctrine or report of him is this: that mankind shall be by him reconciled to his Maker, and be made one in spirit with him; i. e. that the curse shall be removed, and the power of it killed and consumed. And that created flesh, by that mighty power, the man of truth, shall be made subject to the spirit that made it; so that the spirit, which is the Father,

[9] See his work entitled "Mystery of God."

may become *all in all*, the chief ruler in flesh. And truly this is but according to the current of the whole Scripture; that in the day of Christ every one shall be made of one heart and one spirit, i. e. that all shall be brought in to acknowledge the Father, to obey him, walk humbly before him, and live in peace and love in him. This is the doctrine of Christ and the Gospel. This is glad tidings to hear of. But when you are made to enjoy this doctrine as yours, then you shall know what it is to know the Son, and what it is to be set free by the Son."[9]

These defenders of the doctrine of God's impartial and triumphant love, realized fully the truth of their Lord's premonition, "in the world ye shall have tribulation." They were unjustly accused of denying the existence of God, of rejecting Jesus Christ, the authority of the sacred Scriptures, and the duty and usefulness of prayer. Winstanley bears testimony that William Everard, after suffering much misrepresentation in these particulars, was seized, at the instigation of the Clergy, by the bailiffs of Kingston (in what county unknown) and cast into prison.

[9] See "Truth lifting up its head above Scandal's." Preface to the 1st edition of Jeremy White. Winstanley's works were so far as we have ascertained, "The Breaking of the Day of God;" "The Mystery of God, concerning the whole creation, mankind;" "The Father's teaching the only satisfaction to waiting souls;" "Truth lifting up its head above Scandal's;" "The new Law of Righteousness budding forth, in restoring the whole creation from the bondage of the curse, or a Glimpse at the New Heaven," &c. &c.

V. Among the Universalists of this period, a place must be given also to William Earbury, a preacher of great reputation among the Independents, and, of course, a most violent opposer of the Presbyterians. He held several disputes with them in public on the subject of their differences; and on one occasion, being assisted by the sagacity of a soldier, he obtained a triumph over his adversaries.[1] Shortly after he was challenged to a disputation by Francis Cheynel, to which he agreed, and it was conducted in St. Mary's Church, London. Cheynel, whose life Dr. Johnson has written, and who was a man of no little eminence, was appointed by the Parliament one of the visiters to Oxford, afterwards was made Bachelor of Divinity, and at last filled a Professorship. Earbury, during the Protectorship, was a minister in South Wales, and had a salary appointed him by authority of £100 per annum.[2] He preached publicly the restoration of all men; and is charged by Edwards[3] with holding many gross errors, one of which was that of Universal Redemption. Although, beside his salary, he had nothing to depend on for the support of himself and family, yet he threw it up, his conscience accusing him of preaching for hire; and published a treatise on that account, called the "Terror of Tythes," in allusion to the anxiety he had felt.

[1] Dr. Johnson's life of Francis Cheynel.
[2] Preface to 3d edition of Jeremy White on Divine Goodness.
[3] Gangrena, p.109.

VI. But one of the most painful instances of determined malice which it becomes our duty to record, occurs in the case of Richard Coppin. Gifted with an inquiring mind, he renounced successively the doctrines of the Episcopalians and Presbyterians, and listened for a time to the preaching of the Independents and Anabaptists. From the latter he may have received the first hints of the doctrine of Universalism; but he soon seceded from them, on account of some differences of opinion, and stood forth as a public defender of the doctrine of the restoration of all things to God, which was his distinguishing sentiment. He lived at this time in Berkshire, where he wrote a book entitled "Divine Teachings." Opposition at home drove him abroad; and he declared, by preaching and writing, both in public and private, and from house to house, as well as in Churches, streets, and market-places, the doctrines he believed. The Clergy, finding that his labors drew many of their people away, made complaint against him, and obtained a warrant to bring him before a Justice of Peace, on an accusation of blasphemy. He was bound over to the next Assizes at Worcester, where he was tried before the Lord Chief Baron Wilde. In the indictment, he was charged, among other things, with believing that "all men whatsoever shall be saved, and that there shall be no general day of judgment." He made his own defence, avowing and proving his belief in Universal Salvation, and maintaining that men are judged on the earth, by the power of

Christ's spirit and truth. The jury rendered a verdict of blasphemy; but the Judge differing from them, Coppin was continued under bonds to appear at the next Assizes. On his second trial he was charged with holding three principal errors, the second of which was, "That there is no heaven and hell but what is in man." To gratify his accusers, the Judge bound him over to appear at Oxford Assizes to answer to these charges, which he did on March 10th, 1652. The Jury once more declared him guilty, to the equal dissatisfaction of the Judge as before. He stated if the indictment were true, the prisoner was guilty of nothing, for as it respected the first and last articles, there was no act of Parliament that would apply to them; and although the law forbid a man to avow that there was no heaven nor hell, the prisoner had not broken it, as he manifestly believed there was both a heaven and a hell, though his views of them differed from public opinion on that subject.[4] The fact was, the jury were awed by the Priests, who followed them, contradicting the words of the Judge, advising that they should pay no attention to them, nor to the prisoner's defence, and importuning them

4 Coppin might have thanked the Disposer of his destinies, that he fell into the hands of so merciful a judge. As a believer of Universal Restitution, he stood obnoxious to imprisonment, and as a disbeliever of the doctrine of future punishment, he was obnoxious to death, by the law of May 2, 1648. Unless the law before this had been repealed, of which I have seen no account, he owed his good fortune to the clemency of the Judge. The law of Aug. 9th, 1650, made it a crime worthy of imprisonment to affirm "that there is neither heaven nor hell;" and it seems to be this passage of which the Judge gave a construction.

to bring him in guilty. They went out again, but returned with the same verdict. The Judge perceiving the malice of the prisoner's accusers, and the manifest ignorance of the jury, and being willing himself to do justice, took bail of Coppin to appear at the next Assizes, to the great disappointment and mortification of his enemies, who had been determined on his destruction. When he appeared again before the Court, they, who had declared they would follow him even unto death, did not come forward; and the Judge therefore, ordered the prisoner to be set at liberty.

In the month of March 1653, having been invited to preach in Stow, in Gloucester, a quite serious opposition was raised against him. Some Justices of the Peace, having, in vain, attempted to entangle him in his talk, committed him to the care of constables to prevent his preaching. A large concourse of people collected in the street, and the constables permitted him to speak to them. Soon, however, these Justices, with the minister, came *riding* into the crowd upon their horses, endangering the lives of the citizens. They presented the constables with a warrant to apprehend him, and confined him that he should preach no more. On the following day he was brought before one of these Justices, who bound him over to appear at the Gloucester Assizes, to answer to charges which had not then been made. In the interim between this and the meeting of the Court, he presented to Cromwell, who had been recently elevated to the

Protectorship, and had abolished all laws contrary to christian liberty, an appeal, from which the account of this painful affair thus far has been collected. He appeared before the Court at proper time, and his accusers preferred several slanderous charges against him; but not being able to prove them, and all their efforts to effect his condemnation failing, he was again discharged.

His resolute and active spirit could not be idle. In December, 1655, he held several disputes in the Cathedral in Rochester, Kent, with a number of clergymen. In these disputes the doctrine of Universalism was a principal topic. Coppin explained the passages brought up against him, and adduced others to defend his sentiments. His enemies were obliged publicly to acknowledge his great abilities, though they denounced what they called his damnable errors.

After these disputes the Clergy seemed at a loss what to do. Of confuting him they despaired, though four, and these probably of the greatest abilities, had made the trial publicly. They held private consultations to know how they might prevent his public labors; and pursued their malicious proceedings until he was committed to Maidstone prison, whence he issued a small book, entitled "A Blow at the Serpent," &c. Here I must leave the faithful but unfortunate man, as my historical knowledge of him extends no further. The common propensity to allegorize the Scriptures, seems in him to have been invincible, as he treated some

of the plainest historical narrations in this manner. But that he had sound abilities his enemies acknowledged, and his few writings now attainable evince many traits of a strong mind.

More than one hundred years after this time, an edition of Coppin's works was republished in England, prefaced with a hearty recommendation by a Mr. Cayley. The celebrated James Relly, himself a Universalist, attacked them in a warm and rather bitter style,[5] endeavoring to prove, in opposition to Coppin, the doctrine of the resurrection *of the body*, and of misery beyond death.[6]

VII. To the account of Coppin must succeed the notice of two anonymous works, in both of which the doctrine of Universalism is explicitly asserted, and in one, at least, defended with considerable learning and force of reasoning. "*God's light declared in mysteries*," was the title of a work in quarto, printed in 1653, of which we have been unable to obtain any information, except the following extract, said to be taken from page 12. "Now what *is hell* or darkness? 'Tis a separation from an enjoyment that it (the soul) was capable of; that is Hell, and Devil, and Liar and False Prophet: they shall not come forth till they have paid the utmost farthing, then shall they receive mercy. For know

[5] See "The Sadducee detected and refuted, in remarks on the works of Richard Coppin," 1764.

[6] The works of Coppin, so far as they are known, are as follows: "Truth's Testimony;" "Michael's opposing the Dragon," &c.; "The advancement of all things in Christ, and of Christ in all things;" with the works above noted.

that God is good, and he will not punish a finite thing infinitely."[7]

Of the other work we can speak with more confidence: it is entitled, "*Of the Torments of Hell; the foundation and pillars thereof discovered, searched, shaken, and removed. With infallible proofs that there is not to be a punishment after this life, for any to endure, that shall never end.*" The author maintained that Sheol was not a place of punishment, which he corroborated by testimonies from various authors; that Gehenna, instead of being a place of future punishment, was the valley of Hinnom near Jerusalem, and here again he strengthened his opinion by adducing the testimonies of several commentators, viz. Mr. Cartwright, Dr. Fulk and Mr. Trap: he endeavored to give the true sense of the word *everlasting*, of the parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man, of Tophet, of Isaiah LXVI. 24, and Luke v. 2., of the burning of the tares, the wrath to come, the phrase eternal damnation, and the words cursed, reprobate, fire, &c. Ten distinct opinions of the learned with respect to Hell were considered, as were the reasons of Mr. Leigh, of Magdalen Hall, in favor of its being a place of eternal punishment. After thus shaking the pillars of hell, he added several considerations, and other proofs more directly scriptural, against the doctrine of eternal misery.

[7] See Preface to 3d edition of Jeremy White on Divine Goodness.

This author, like Coppin, seems not to have believed in any punishment whatsoever in the future state. "Sin is punished in this life to the full, if you will believe God," says he. "God doth not only begin to punish sin in this life, but also finishes it in this life. * * * * There is no continuance of it after this life." He was a trinitarian, and a believer in salvation by grace alone. But his design did not lead him to speak of his own particular sentiments. The work is attributed to Samuel Richardson ;[8] but he should not be confounded with the author of Pamelia, and Sir Charles Grandison, who was not born until several years after this time. If we may judge from his productions, he was a writer of considerable note; and a man of great independence in the expression of his opinions. An answer to the "Torments of Hell" was published by John Brandon, Rector of Finchamsted, Berks, entitled "Everlasting Fire no Fancy," London, 1678, 4to.[9]

[8] See Phœnix, vol. ii. Universal Theo. Magazine, vol. xii. p. 177. Watts' Bibliotheca, under Richardson. The works of this author were as follows: "Considerations on Dr. Featley's Dipper Dipt." London, 1645, 4to; "Justification by Christ alone, a fountain of Life and Comfort." London, 1647, 4to.; "The necessity of Toleration in Religion." 1647, 4to.; "An answer to the London Minister's Letter to his Excellency and to his Council of War; as also an answer to J. Geree's Book, &c." London, 1649, 4to.; "The cause of the poor pleaded." London, 1653, 4to.; "An Apology for the present Government and Governor." London, 1654, 4to.; "Plain Dealing, in Answer to Mr. Vavasor, Powell and others." London, 1656, 4to.: "Of the Torments of Hell, &c." London, 1658, 1660, 12mo.

[9] I have heard of, though never seen, two works against Universalism which belong to this period, viz. "Hell's everlasting torments as-

VIII. When Cromwell was elevated to the Protectorship, popular zeal ran highest against the Catholic religion, and that of the Church of England, then generally termed prelacy. It would be a most difficult task to give a true picture of the Protector's character. Nearly all historians have agreed in representing him to have been a canting hypocrite; and no one, perhaps, has done this more effectually than Mr. Hume.[o] Bishop Burnet remarks, that he "was for liberty, and the utmost latitude to all parties, so far as consisted with the peace and safety of his person and government; and therefore he was never jealous of any cause or sect, on the account of heresy or falsehood, but on his wiser accounts of political peace and quiet: and even the prejudice he had for the Episcopal party, was more for their being royalists, than for being of the good old church."[1] The historian of the Puritans gives him a similar character. "The Protector was a Protestant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: He had Chaplains of all persuasions; and though he was by principle an Independent, he esteemed all reformed Churches as part of the Catholic Church: and without aiming to establish any tenets by force or violence, he witnessed, on all occasions, an extreme zeal for liberty of conscience."[2] The cruel laws of the

serted," by Nicholas Chewney. London, 1660. And "Causa Dei, or an Apology for God, in the perpetuity of infernal torments, &c." London, 1675. 8vo. By Richard Burthogge.

o Hume wrote with a peculiar partiality to the character of Charles I. which prevents my receiving his account of Cromwell without some suspicion of exaggeration.

1 Warner, ii. 586. 2 Neal's Hist. of Puritans, ii. 515.

Parliament with which the reader has been acquainted, if they had at first a little force, were soon abrogated both by the spirit of the times, and an express statute. The army, which at this time was not to be slighted in any of its requests, petitioned "that all penal statutes and ordinances, whereby many conscientious people were molested, and the propagation of the gospel hindered, might be removed;"[3] but from this liberty Papists, and the members of the Church of England, were excluded. This petition not long after was passed into a law, and thereby all the former laws against erroneous opinions, were repealed. The same toleration was provided for in the *Instrument of Government*, which was drawn up at the time Cromwell was declared Protector; in which it was provided, "that the christian religion contained in the Scriptures be held forth and recommended as the public profession of these nations; that as soon as may be, a provision, less subject to contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the maintenance of ministers; and that till such provision be made, the present maintenance continue: that none be compelled to conform to the public religion by penalties or otherwise, but that endeavors be used to win them by sound doctrine, and the example of a good conversation: that such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, worship, or discipline, publicly held forth, shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected

[3] Warner, ii. 579.

in the profession of their faith and exercise of their religion, so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the actual disturbance of the public peace on their parts; provided this liberty be not extended to Popery, nor Prelacy, nor to such, as under a profession of Christ, hold forth a practice of licentiousness: that all laws, statutes and ordinances, contrary to the aforesaid liberty, shall be esteemed null and void."[4] Thus a legal toleration was granted to all sects but Papists and the Episcopalians, who, with direct licentiousness and immorality, were the only things excepted from the benefit of this provision. Commissioners were soon appointed to examine candidates for the clerical office, and a majority of these being Independents, no one was excluded on account of belonging to those sects which had been deemed heretical. When, in 1657, the Parliament offered to Cromwell that system of government which they entitled the "*Humble Petition and Advice*," and which he signed and established as the Constitution of the nation, they made a like provision for the toleration of all sects but Papists and Episcopalians, as the following articles will show. It was ordained "that the Protestant Christian Religion, contained in the Old and New Testament, be asserted and held forth as the public profession of this nation, and no other: that a Confession, to be agreed upon by this Parliament, be recommended to the people, and none to be permitted by words or writing to revile it: that

[4] Warner, ii. 583, 584.

those who professed to believe in God, the Trinity, and the Scripture, though they differed in other things from the public profession held forth, should not be compelled by penalties but protected from injuries, while they abuse not this liberty to the disturbance of the public peace; provided this liberty does not extend to Popery, Prelacy, blasphemy and profaneness: that the ministers and the public preachers, who agree in the aforesaid matters of faith, shall not only have protection in the way of their churches and worship, but shall be capable of any trust or employment, though they shall not receive the public maintenance appointed for the ministry: and that all ministers shall remain disqualified from any civil employment."[5] By this toleration, the inculcation of Universalism was permitted without restraint, while to deny the doctrine of the Trinity was prohibited. Political motives probably had so great an influence in the framing of these articles, that we are not permitted to award to their authors that high praise to which they would otherwise have been entitled. For if this indulgence to the various sects, sprang from a true love of religious liberty, why was so dishonorable an exception made to Catholics and Episcopalians?

IX. Cromwell lived but a few years, to exercise regal power, in the character of Protector; and being vested with the privilege of appointing his successor, he nominated, in his last moments, his

[5] Warner, ii. 588.

son Richard to that high office. Richard, however, possessed not his father's talents; he was humane, honest and unassuming; and on the breaking out of dissentions after his father's death, he preferred rather to retire into private life, than to bear the storm of opposition and war in maintaining his dignity. The nation remained for a short time without any fixed government whatever; and finally, by the assistance of General Monk, who commanded an army in Scotland at the Protector's death, Charles II. took the throne, and *restored* the ancient order of things. As all the acts of Parliament without the consent of the King, are null in themselves, so power alone was needed to make Episcopacy the national form of church government, and the XXXIX Articles the established doctrine. The Act of Uniformity, whereby all those who refused to conform to the Established Church and worship, were rejected from her communion and emoluments, drove from their livings the Clergy to the number of two thousand, and exalted to ease and affluence those who, in the administration of Cromwell, had been coupled with Papists, and made the subjects of a particular proscription. From this time until the present the government and faith of the Church of England, have remained unchanged.

X. Among the Clergy who were excluded by the Act of Uniformity, we may reckon Jeremy White, who had been chaplain to Cromwell, and preacher to the Council of State. He was a fellow of Trin-

ity College, Cambridge. Having received an early impression from perusing the Scriptures, that God is infinitely good and benevolent, he found no satisfaction in reading various systems of divinity, which, it is said, threw him into a fit of sickness that came near terminating his life. During this disease he became convinced of the truth of Universalism; and the thoughts which he then had, afterwards formed the ground work of his treatise in defence of that sentiment. He is said to have been a person of great facetiousness in his conversation; and his company, on that account, was much valued by persons of high rank. On one occasion, however, the Protector showed himself a match for his Chaplain in quickness of thought. White had paid a particular attention to one of Cromwell's daughters; and being once detected by the father on his knees before the young lady, he averted his indignation by saying that he was entreating her influence with her maid, to whom he had long paid his addresses without success. The father, knowing the artifice, upbraided the maid for her supposed neglect, and immediately ordered the marriage between her and the outwitted Chaplain to take place.[6]

It is probable his treatise on Universal Salvation was written before old age came on; for we are informed that he at first wrote voluminously, but towards the latter part of his life, contracted the

[6] Lempriere.

work, and prepared it for the press. Subsequently to the Restoration he preached occasionally, without undertaking any particular charge. With great pains and care he made a collection of the sufferings of the dissenters by the penal laws which were enacted in the reign of Charles II. wherein he gave an account of the ruin of several thousand families in different parts of the kingdom; but thinking it might subserve the cause of Popery, he rejected the importunity of some of King James' agents, and also large pecuniary rewards which were offered him to publish it. He died in the year 1707, aged 78.[7]

"*The Restoration of all things, or a vindication of the goodness and grace of God, to be manifested at last in the recovery of his whole creation out of their fall,*" was a posthumous work,[8] and first printed five years after the author's death. As its title imports, its sole object is to set up and defend the doctrine of Universal Salvation, which is done entirely upon the ground of the Scriptures, according to the views he entertained of them. He had imbibed an aversion

[7] This account of White has been taken from the first edition of his Treatise on Divine Goodness, and from Dr. Calamy's account of ejected ministers, printed 1713, p. 5, and in the first volume of the Continuation of said work. Both to the first and third editions of White's work (the second edition I have never seen) are prefixed valuable prefaces, containing historical traces of the doctrine of Universalism.

[8] Besides the works already named, there appeared, "A Funeral Sermon for Mr. Francis Fuller," and "A Persuasive to Moderation and Forbearance in Love, among the divided forms of Christians." White also wrote a most excellent preface to a work entitled "The Rise, Race and Royalty of the Kingdom of God in the Soul," by Peter Sterry; 4to, printed 1683.

to the Arminian principles, which, previously to the Protectorship, had been the doctrine of many of the English prelates; hence he contends strenuously for predestination, election and reprobation; and he prized his views of the final happiness of all mankind, the more highly, because they enabled him to reconcile the decrees of God with his infinite benevolence. In the unchangeable plan of infinite wisdom, those who are elected and those who are reprobated will mutually benefit each other; the sanctification and salvation of the former are the pledge of the sanctification and salvation of the latter. He was a trinitarian, and held the doctrine of future punishment.

The plan of his work is as follows: in each chapter he produces the evidence on which he relies, and then anticipates and answers objections. His principal arguments are these: God will have all men to be saved. This is a will of authority, of supreme sovereignty; it is a fixed, determinate, irrevocable purpose of him who ordains the means as well as the end. Jesus Christ gave himself a ransom for all men, without any exception; and God is the Saviour of all men, finally, in the world to come. Jesus preached to the spirits in prison, men that were gone off the stage of this world;" and he was not unsuccessful like Noah, but reclaimed the disobedient, who lived afterward according to God in the spirit. Mercy is promised to the most rebellious of our race, and the gospel, according to the divine command, is to be preached to every

creature. That all things are to be restored, is evident from Paul's testimony both to the Ephesians, and Collossians:[9] we have the assurance of this truth in the character of God, who is love, whose perfections are all love, and to which his very anger is subservient: and lastly the Scriptures assure us of the complete abounding of grace over all sin and all death.[0]

XI. It is esteemed proper to close this chapter with an account of an article to which we are not enabled to affix any precise date: it is entitled "Natural and Revealed Religion explaining each other," &c. and is to be found in the "Harlean Miscellany."[1] The author of this was a decided Universalist; but as it had remained in manuscript in the Earl of Oxford's Library, until published in the Miscellany, we are unable to ascertain to whom it should be attributed. It is divided into two Essays, the first *showing what religion is essential to man*, and the second, *the state of Souls after death as discov-*

[9] Eph. i. 10, and Coll. i. 20, are the passages.

[0] Attached to the copy of White's "Restoration of all Things" which belongs to Harvard College Library, is the following manuscript note: "This book was greatly esteemed by Mr. Hutcheson of Glasgow; especially the latter part of it, beginning at page 173 to the end." In that part of the work with which Mr. Hutcheson was particularly pleased, the author discusses, in a somewhat metaphysical manner, the nature of God, as being unmixed benevolence; and this benevolence he considered the source of all punishment, which hence, must be for the recovery of the sinner: he maintains also the final triumph of grace over all sin and death.

[1] Quarto edition, vol. vi. p. 39—51. The Harlean Miscellany was a collection of scarce, curious and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print, found in the Earl of Oxford's Library after his decease. It was published in 1744.

ered by Revelation. A religion essential to man, the author maintains must be founded in the nature both of God and man, and cannot be opposed to either, more especially to human reason. It must embrace the fact, too, that the Deity could have no object in creating man but the diffusion of happiness, and, therefore, that he is at all times concerned for the well-being of his creatures. The second Essay he commences by representing to himself the Supreme Being, as he was, self-existent and self-happy, before the creation. God could have no motive to create man but to communicate good, and infinite goodness could be satisfied with nothing less. The effects of this goodness are never suspended, but man shares them in his punishment. Misery would never have been inflicted, unless the ultimate good will infinitely surpass the damage he may sustain from it. The Scriptures abundantly support this opinion in a variety of instances, nor are there any threatenings which, when rightly understood, are opposed to the supposition. The expressions "eternal fire," "eternal damnation," and others similar, cannot be brought forward as exceptions, for the terms used to signify duration, both in Hebrew and Greek, are equivocal. We should determine the meaning of these words by the help of those great truths which are the foundation of all the rest, and which relate to the perfections of God, and his design in sending his Son into the world. The author shows from the Scriptures that

Christ died for all men, and that all will be benefitted by his death.

In his time it had been objected to this doctrine, that it led to licentiousness. He answers, the belief of hell torments has not prevented men from sinning, nor has it ever been so powerful a restraint upon them as the fear of temporal evils; nay, the fear of a thirty years' distemper, as a consequence of sin, would be far more efficacious in preventing it. It is strange so great an evil as eternal punishment should not induce men to take some means to avoid it; but the reason is, every one persuades himself he does not belong among the wicked for whom this sad fate is reserved; and, in fact, there is so great a disproportion between such a punishment and human works, that very few reflecting men can bring themselves to believe God will inflict it. The apprehension of a punishment which is proportioned to the offences of mankind, and is such as the Scriptures assure us God will inflict, is far more efficacious in restraining men from sin than the fear of endless torment; and while it represents the character of God in a delightful point of view, it begets in man that disposition to be like him, which of all incentives to holiness, is the most powerful. "Upon the whole," says this author in closing his article, "I know not whether any other system contains motives so efficacious for engaging mankind to walk in the ways of real holiness, any system which can make religion more venerable in the eyes even of libertines, or more

lovely to the lovers of truth, that places in a clearer light the wonderful harmony of the divine attributes, and the reasons we have to love sovereign perfection."[2]

We have no means of knowing at what time this article was composed, except by a reference made in it to the controversy between the Particularists and the *hypothetical* Universalists; and from the manner in which the author speaks of that controversy, we suppose it was agitated when he wrote; nor does this furnish us with any certain means of ascertaining the date, since it allows us to place it any time between A. D. 1650 and 1700. We should judge, however, by the style, and manner of reasoning, that it was not written until near the close of the 17th century.

2 There is a striking similarity between this article, and the second volume of the World Unmasked, or the Philosopher the greatest Cheat, a work we shall have occasion to mention in a succeeding chapter. Either they must both have been written by one person, or the author of one made great use of the other, in preparing his work.

CHAPTER IV.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ENGLAND CONTINUED, AND NOTICES OF ITS EMINENT DEFENDERS.

I. In the last chapter we brought up the History of Universalism in England to the early part of the XVIII century. We must now go back again into the preceding century, that we may bring into view a class of English divines who were favorable to Universalism, and who, at the same time, were regarded as some of the brightest luminaries of the Church to which they belonged: we mean Dr. Henry More, Archbishop Tillotson, Dr. Thomas Burnet, and William Whiston. When Tillotson was in College, he became acquainted with More, and Rust, afterwards Bishop of Dromore, in Ireland, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak in a succeeding chapter; and here it is probable the foundation of that liberality in sentiment was laid which afterward distinguished these men.[3]

II. Writers of the first respectability have agreed in considering Dr. Henry More as a believer of the doctrine of Universal Restitution. In reference to his views on this point, it is supposed Dr. Rust de-

[3] Birch's Life of Tillotson.

scribes him, as "a man whom after ages would better understand."[4] Dean Swift has left a testimony to the same point,[5] to which may be added that of the author of the preface to the first edition of Jeremy White[6] on Divine Goodness, and of the Editor of the Monthly Repository.[7] More has left no *direct* testimony in favor of this sentiment, though his writings, particularly his Divine Dialogues, seem designed to lead to it.

His parents and early instructers were rigid Calvinists; but even in his youth he had a great abhorrence of their sentiments. He thought if the doctrine of predestination were true, and he, at last, should be among the damned, he would do what he could to please God; nor could he but entertain the belief that in such an event, God would not keep him long in misery.[8] While very young he was put under the care of an uncle, who did not hesitate to apply the rod, when his nephew disputed against Calvinistic points of faith.[9] In manhood he was of the most unassuming manners, possessed of the greatest meekness, and of no ambition whatsoever; and the purity of his life is allowed, universally, to surpass all praise. He had frequent offers of preferment, which he rejected, and even resigned a living in favor of a friend, that

[4] Monthly Repos. ix. 560.
[5] Abstract of Collins' Discourse on Free Thinking, xiv. 203.
[6] See Preface, &c.
[7] Month. Repos. ix. 560.
[8] Biographia Britan.
[9] Month. Repos. ix. 560.

he might go into retirement, with a small but sufficient income, devoting his time to literary pursuits. His works in three folios were once held in high repute. He died at the age of 73, on Sept. 1st, 1687.

That work in which he favors Universalism, is his Divine Dialogues; but here, instead of an express assertion of the sentiment, we find only those principles laid down which carry the mind insensibly towards it. Of these Dialogues, however, we have seen only the three first, which were published in a volume by themselves, at London, 1668. They contain sundry disquisitions concerning the attributes and providence of God; and particularly a vindication of his goodness, which, the author maintains, is in all things connected with his wisdom and power, and cannot be separated from them.[o] The Dialogues were first published without the name of the author, but are attributed to More by all biographers. We think it not an unreasonable supposition, that his sentiments were more fully made known to his friends, than they have been to the public.

III. Tillotson, Archbishop of Canterbury, has long been classed among those who have rejected the doctrine of endless punishment. The singular and covert manner, however, in which he has undermined and refuted the cruel sentiment, has led some to think that so far from having been an opposer, he was its zealous advocate; for the reader

[o] p. 515.

is to learn, that it is in a sermon in which he was *professedly* favoring that tenet, we find the evidence that he did not believe it. One thing is certain, the advocates of endless misery proved by the vigorous defence of their doctrine which they made against the arguments of Tillotson, that they were very far from thinking he had done any service to their cause, but rather believed they had sustained a great injury by his performance. Among those who have considered him a defender of a *limited* future punishment, we may mention Edwards, in his Theologia Reformata,[1] published 1713; Dr. Whitby, in his Appendix to the second Epistle to the Thessalonians,[2] published 1718; Dean Swift;[3] the author to the preface to Jeremy White, on Divine Goodness;[4] Whiston, who says Tillotson "chose rather to give up the veracity of God in these his threatenings, than to defend the eternity of punishment; the Editors of the Monthly Review;[5] Archbishop King, in the Appendix to Origin of Evil; Eberhard, in his New Apology for Socrates;[6] Mr. William Duncombe,[7] well known among the learned in England; Evans, in his Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World;[8] Adam, in his Religious World Displayed;[9] and many others. The best and most intimate friends of Tillotson un-

[1] ii. 99. [2] Commentary, vol. ii.
[3] Abstract of Collins' Discourse, &c. Swift's Works, xiv. 203.
[4] Preface, &c. [5] xlvii. 191.
[6] Histoire des Sectes Religieuse, i. 75.
[7] Hughes' Correspondence, ii. 156, and Month. Repos. vii. 491.
[8] Art. Universalists. [9] ii. 388.

derstood him to hold the views attributed to him by these persons; nor does his faithful biographer deny the fact, but acknowledges that on some points, in relation to future punishment, he agreed with Episcopius, whose writings had contributed essentially to the forming of his taste and sentiments in Theology.[o]

His father was an Anabaptist,[1] but whether a Universalist, we know not. To suppose that his parents had any influence in cultivating the religious opinions he cherished through life, would be a departure from the testimony of respectable authors, who maintain that he was educated a Puritan. The society of those with whom he associated at College, more than any thing else, must, we think, have given that liberal tone to his feelings, and that cast to his sentiments which he retained until death. He rose through various preferments to the highest office in the Church of England, which he filled, amid the virulence and clamor of his enemies, with satisfaction to the King, and honor to the nation. For a considerable time before his predecessor Sancroft was suspended he was thought of for this office; but he consented to his nomination with great and unfeigned reluctance, having a just apprehension of the enmity to which it would expose him, and being induced thereto only by the wish of the King and Queen. As a scholar Dr. Tillotson has ever been held in the highest esteem.

[o] Life of Tillotson by Thomas Birch.
[1] Milner's End of Controversy, 285, note in loc.

His sermons which have been often republished since his death, and translated into various languages, are regarded as a standard of sound reasoning, good sense, fervent piety, and a clear, elegant and unaffected style. The renowned Addison, so universally known as one of the most elegant and correct writers in the English language, projected the plan of an English Dictionary, the signification of the words to be illustrated by extracts from these discourses. Bishop Burnet, who was his intimate friend, and who preached his funeral sermon, drew his character in the following words: "He was a man of the truest judgment and best temper I had ever known: He had a clear head, with a most tender and compassionate heart; he was a faithful and zealous friend, but a gentle and soon conquered enemy; he was truly and seriously religious, but without affectation, bigotry or superstition; his notions of morality were fine and sublime; his thread of reasoning was easy, clear, and solid; he was not only the best preacher of the age, but seemed to have brought preaching to perfection: his sermons were so well heard, and liked, and so much read, that all the nation proposed him as a pattern, and studied to copy after him; his parts remained with him clear and unclouded; but the perpetual slanders, and other ill usage he had been followed with, for many years, most particularly since his advancement to that great post, gave him too much trouble and too deep a concern: it could neither provoke him, nor fright him from

his duty, but it affected his mind so much, that this was thought to have shortened his days."[2]

IV. The sermon of which we have already spoken, and in which we find the evidence that the Archbishop did not believe in the execution of endless punishment, was preached while he was Dean of St. Paul's, before the Queen, on the 7th of March, 1689–90. The text is Matt. xxv. 46. "*These shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal.*" After a proper introduction, he laid down the two following propositions, which he endeavored to establish :

I. That the eternal punishment of wicked men, in another world, is plainly threatened in Scripture. And

II. That this (i. e. the *threat* of eternal punishment) is not inconsistent either with the justice or goodness of God.

He treated the first proposition briefly. That the words applied to the duration of punishment are often, by the sacred writers, used in a limited sense, he acknowledged. But he maintained that they are also used to signify "an interminable and endless duration. Now, if God had intended to have told us that the punishment shall have no end, the languages in which the Scriptures were written do hardly afford fuller and more certain words to express to us a duration without end. And likewise, which is also a peremptory decision of the thing,

[2] Burnet's Own Time, folio, ii. 135.

because the duration of the punishment of wicked men, is in the very same sentence expressed by the very same word which is used for the duration of the happiness of the righteous." After this, very few would expect to find the author an advocate for limited punishment. But let us see how he proceeded in showing that the *threat* of endless punishment is consistent with the justice and goodness of God.

He took notice of the principal arguments whereby some had attempted to justify the infliction of eternal torments, and was careful to show that none of them did in reality answer the purpose for which they were urged, but left the subject liable still to the same objections. By this procedure he deprived the advocates of endless misery of what they regarded as the essential supports of their faith; and having done this, he was prepared, in his own way, to reconcile the *threat* of endless punishment with the justice and goodness of God. For it was the *threat only*, and not the actual infliction of such a punishment, that he professed to reconcile with the divine attributes.

He showed that the penalty threatened is not to be measured by the degree or duration of the offence, but by the ends and purposes of government; and the object of all good governments is not the infliction of the penalty, but by the threat of it, to deter men from sin, and thereby prevent their suffering it. His system was based upon the false supposition, that men's fears of a punishment,

and the good effect of this fear upon their hearts, rise in proportion to the greatness of the penalty with which they are threatened; but this all history has proved erroneous. "Whoever considers," said he, "how ineffectual the threatening even of eternal torments is to the greatest part of sinners, will soon be satisfied that a less penalty than that of eternal sufferings would to the far greatest part of mankind, have been in all probability of little or no force. And therefore, if any thing more terrible than eternal vengeance could have been *threatened* to the workers of iniquity, it had not been unreasonable, because it would have been little enough to deter men effectually from sin." In his view, when we break the laws of God, we fall into his hands, lie at his mercy, and he can inflict on us any punishment he chooseth; but the mighty sinner may be mightily punished by the degree and intenseness of his sufferings, without any regard to their duration. But in threatening, to secure his law from violation, God may denounce any penalty, since the design in so doing is benevolent.

Secondly, *the threat* of endless punishment was shown to be consistent with divine justice, because "after all, he that threatens hath still the power of execution in his own hands. For there is this remarkable difference between promises and threatenings, that he who promiseth passeth over a right to another, and therefore stands obliged to him in justice and faithfulness to fulfil his promise; and if he do not, the party to whom the promise is made

is not only disappointed, but injuriously dealt with-al. But in threatenings it is quite otherwise. He that threatens keeps the right of punishing in his own hand, and is not obliged to execute what he hath threatened any further than the reasons and the ends of government do require; and he may without any injury to the party threatened, remit and abate as much as he pleaseth of the punishment threatened; and because that in so doing he is not worse but better than his word, nobody can find fault or complain of any wrong or injustice thereby done to him." Herein it is perfectly evident, that it is the *threat* and not the infliction of endless punishment, that Dr. Tillotson reconciled with the justice of God.

But how did he defend the veracity of God? Just as any divine will defend it in regard to the threatened overthrow of Nineveh, which God was pleased not to execute. Hath not God sworn, however, that sinners shall not enter his rest? and is not his oath immutable? It is so far as the threatening extends; and herein the Dr. condemns Origen who held that wicked men and devils would actually enter heaven. While the former mercifully screened the wicked from the *infliction* of endless suffering, he did not say, with the latter, they should be admitted to bliss with the righteous, nor did he believe in their annihilation; but he seems to have left them, as did Episcopius from whom he formed his sentiments,[3] in a middle condition be-

[3] His life by Thomas Birch.

tween suffering and extatic bliss: they are not to be punished eternally, nor are they to be raised to the full glory of salvation.

Thirdly, "we may consider further," said the Dr. "that the primary end of all threatenings is not punishment, but the prevention of it. For God does not threaten that men may sin and be punished, but that they may not sin, and so may escape the punishment threatened. And therefore, the higher the threatening runs, so much the more mercy and goodness there is in it; because it is so much the more likely to hinder men from incurring the penalty that is threatened."

Thus, on the Dr's. scheme, prudence requires that men believe in absolutely endless punishment, since his whole design is thwarted if men should obtain the slightest intimation of the doctrine he maintained; and he really betrays great inconsistency when he exhorts the people to whom he had preached this sermon, to fear endless punishment, just as they would did they know it would be executed.

We find no little difficulty in securing Dr. Tillotson from the charge of insincerity, in the design of this discourse. He did not mean to leave the impression that this eternal punishment which is threatened will ever be executed; he secures the divine justice only by providing that mankind shall escape it. Why, then, did he give his sermon such a form, and appear ostensibly to defend a doctrine which he did not believe? "As for God," he says,

"let us not doubt but that he will take care of his own honor, and that he who is holy in all his ways, and righteous in all his works, will do nothing that is repugnant to his eternal goodness and righteousness; and that he will certainly so manage things at the judgment of the great day, as to be justified in his sayings, and to be righteous when we are judged. For notwithstanding his threatenings, he hath reserved power enough in his own hands to do right to all his perfections, so that we may rest assured he will judge the world in righteousness, and if it be any wise inconsistent either with righteousness or goodness, which he knows much better than we do, to make sinners miserable forever, *that he will not do it*; nor is it creditable that he would threaten sinners with a punishment which he *could* not execute upon them." But the question is not whether God *can*, but whether he *will* execute eternal suffering. The Dr. said he will not, if it is inconsistent either with his justice or righteousness; and if it be not, why did he provide a way to screen the divine attributes from imputation? There can be no question, that the whole bearing of this discourse is against the infliction of endless torments: nor have we learned that the Dr., during all the reproach which it drew upon him, ever denied the sentiment which has now been deduced from it.

V. The sermon was printed soon after delivery, and its author quickly learned the effect it produced on the minds both of his friends and enemies. A story was immediately circulated, that he had

denied the doctrine of endless misery by way of consolation to the Queen, then under the horrors of despair on account of her behaviour to her father,[4] a circumstance which very clearly shows the impression the sermon spread concerning his sentiments. The celebrated Dr. Hickes, a non-juring divine, assaulted him furiously in several sermons[5] he shortly published, representing the discourse as a wretched performance, and calling on the Convocation to censure it, for it was a matter of triumph to Atheists, Deists and Socinians. Dr. Whitby, likewise, inserted in his Commentary[6] on the New Testament, published not long after, an appendix to the first chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, in which he endeavors to refute the arguments Tillotson had used; and in 1706 Mr. (afterward Dr.) Lupton,[7] in a discourse preached before the University of Oxford, attacked his positions with considerable acrimony. But, on the other hand, Le Clerc stepped forward in its defence, and published an elaborate article on the subject;[8] and Mr. John Kettlewell,[9] an opponent of Tillotson's political policy, who had been a Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, and who was, until the Revolution, Vicar of Coleshill, in Warwickshire, was induced by Tillotson's arguments to make some additions to his *Practical Believer*, first published in

4 Birch's Life of Tillotson. 5 Some Discourses, pp. 44—47.
6 Commentary, vol. ii. 7 Lupton's Sermons, p. 22.
8 Bibliotheque choisie T. vii. art. 8, p. 292, et seq.
9 Life of Mr. Kettlewell, p. 163.

1668, upon the first and last article of the Creed, the one concerning the proportion between sin and punishment, and the other in relation to the dispensing power of God as to punishments.[o]

VI. Congenial in faith and in feeling with Tillotson, was Dr. Thomas Burnet, who had been his pupil at Clare-hall in Cambridge. This eminent man manifested, in his youth, extraordinary powers of mind, so that he early obtained the friendship of several influential individuals. In 1654 he removed to Christ's College, in 1657 became Fellow, and in 1661 was made Proctor of the University. Afterwards he was governor to Charles, Duke of Bolton, and to James, Earl of Ossory, and grandson to James, the first Duke of Ormond; and by the interest of that Duke, and other noble friends, he was chosen, in 1685, Master of the Charter House. Introduced at Court by Tillotson, he became his successor as Clerk of the Closet to King William. His reputation in the learned world, was very great, and had been principally gained by his *Telluris theoria Sacra*, printed at London, in 1681. It was written at first in Latin, but at the recommendation of Charles II. he translated it into English; and although writers of the greatest abilities have pronounced it a system built on wrong data, yet it has been universally admired for its uncommon beauties, its elegant diction and interesting details. He was once thought of for the Archbishoprick of Can-

[o] Life of Dr. Tillotson by Thomas Birch.

terbury; but exceptions being taken at the freedom he had used in explaining the account of the Fall, and at his imaginary dialogue between Eve and the Serpent, which he had published in one of his works, he was not only dropped as a candidate for that high office, but removed from his station as Clerk of the Closet. Banished from royal favor, and regardless of the frowns of the world, he retired to the Charter House, and spent the remainder of a very long life, in the quietness of literary pursuits, when, it is probable, he composed his posthumous works. He gave one instance of real independence of mind, by refusing to obey the command of King James II. and admit, by royal dispensation, a person pensioner of the Charter House, who had not taken the customary oaths; and as he and the other governors persisted in maintaining the ground they had taken, the King withdrew, and pressed the matter no further.[1]

The work which principally demands our attention, is entitled *De Statu Mortuorum, et Resurgentium.* It was not *published* until after the author's death; though he caused two or three copies to be printed that they might pass the judgment of his friends, and thus his thoughts come forth amended by their criticisms. But he was advised to keep the dissertation to himself, and not permit his sentiments to be known.

1 For the life of Burnet, see Dr. Birch's Life of Tillotson, all the principal Biographical Dictionaries, and the Biograph. Britan.

He enters into an examination of the opinions of the early Fathers in regard to future punishment, adducing extracts from the writings of Origen, Hilary, St. Ambrose, Jerome, Basil the Great, Gregory Nyssen, &c. He does not seem to assert the locality of hell; but believed that the devils and wicked souls wander in the regions of the atmosphere, tormented only by their guilt, until the day of judgment, when they will be sentenced to a just and remedial punishment. Christ and the Apostles have indeed said, that the punishment of the damned shall be eternal; but although we are never to depart from the letter of the Scripture without necessity, yet as strictly endless punishment is refuted by the plainest and most invincible arguments, we are justified in interpreting, with considerable license, the passages in which the letter countenances that doctrine. The goodness of the Almighty, and the merciful character of Christ, who is to judge the world, are opposed to such a sentiment. It is repugnant to divine wisdom; for an immutable state of misery is useless and vain, and therefore unworthy of God. It cannot be said that the damned must eternally suffer because they are incurable, for it is not proved that they are incurable, and it would be inconsistent with divine wisdom to make human nature such that it would become incurable. Divine justice and equity, as well as wisdom, are against the supposition of endless torment: whom God has made frail, he will not punish eternally for falling. Justice is opposed to such

a punishment, because there can be no proportion between it and the crime. Nor can the theory of infinite sin be admitted, since this would destroy altogether the principle of relative demerit, and make every sin, great or small, infinite and deserving the same punishment. But it is not certain after all, that strictly endless punishment is denounced in the Scripture, as the word everlasting is sometimes used by the sacred writers in a limited sense. Moreover, it should be considered that much of the language applied to the punishment of the damned is figurative, and that it would not well consist with truth to interpret it without a figure. This is the sum of the arguments he offers against the eternity of future punishment, arguments which he expressed in a warm and animated manner. He was not a cold theorist, he uttered the language of his heart; and he predicted that the time will come when endless misery and transubstantiation will be regarded as equally absurd.

Burnet appears to have entertained the opinion, that the doctrine he believed, although undoubtedly true, ought not to be divulged to the generality of mankind; and hence he enjoins what he calls the admonition of the Fathers, "that whatever you think in your own breast of these eternal torments, the people, too prone to vice, and as easily terrified from evil, must have the commonly received doctrine"; and he adds, "if any one shall translate what has been said by learned men on this subject, into the vulgar language, they can have no good

scope or view thereby." Readers of the present day, will be astonished at such advice; and will feel little inclined to justify a practice based on the fallacious presumption, that error, in its effects on mankind, is better than truth. It should be observed, however, that Burnet thought his doctrine might be divulged at some future time.

We have observed that this work was posthumous, but that a few copies were printed for the use of his immediate friends during his life. One of them being found in his study after his decease, several copies more were printed, for the use of a very few persons,[2] as it was thought by learned men a great pity that so elaborate a work should be entirely lost. But the greatest care was taken to stop their circulation; and whoever had the liberty of having the book put into his hands, was obliged upon honor not to have it transcribed, nor sent to the press. Notwithstanding all this precaution, a surreptitious edition was printed in Holland, on which Mr. Wilkinson, Burnet's friend, in whose hands were the original manuscripts, determined to publish a correct edition.[3]

2 Who were these few persons it is impossible to say. They seem to have felt a lively interest in the fate of the book; and this circumstance demonstrates how strong a hold the doctrine of Universalism possesses over the affections even of those, who for some reason, think it prudent to conceal their faith.

3 At what time the edition was printed in Holland, we know not. The first edition after the surreptitious ones, appeared in 1727. The second is in octavo, London, 1733. The sources of information from which the account of Burnet's work has been drawn, are: Bi-

VII. Equally learned with Tillotson and Burnet, sincere, and ardent, but wanting in sternness and judgment, was the renowned William Whiston, now generally known as the translator of Josephus. He succeeded them in keeping the public attention fixed on the subject of eternal punishment, and in satisfying many ingenuous minds that it was not a doctrine of the divine oracles. From Tamworth School he removed to Clare-hall, Cambridge, where he soon became fellow and tutor, the latter of which he resigned to become chaplain to Bishop Moore. His new theory of the earth which appeared in 1696, gained him great applause, and in two years after, he was presented by the Bishop to the small living of Lowestof, in Suffolk, where he devoted himself to study and his parochial duties, until called to Cambridge, in 1700, to become deputy to Sir Isaac Newton, whom he soon succeeded as professor of mathematics. He had not long been in this office before signs of heresy were discovered in him. Averse to all hypocrisy he publicly acknowledged himself an anti-trinitarian, and published several works in defence of his sentiments. A measure so well calculated to draw on him the displeasure of the University, procured his removal from the professorship in 1710, and his banishment from the precincts of Cambridge. Patient under affliction, and regardless of scorn and persecution,

ographia Britannica, Art. Dr. Burnet. Biographical Dictionary, 6 vols. octavo, London, 1798. De Statu Mort, et Resurgent. quarto latin edition. Birch's Life of Archbishop Tillotson.

he removed to London, where he with difficulty supported himself, by giving lectures on philosophy, astronomy, and divinity, and by writing on his favorite subject of primitive christianity. He attended the worship of the established church until near the close of his life; when taking exceptions to the reading of the Athanasian Creed, he forsook it, but did not live long after to pay his honors to the Supreme with any denomination. A short but severe illness closed his life August 22, 1752.[4]

Whiston had no faith in the doctrine of eternal punishment through the greater part of his life: at three different times he issued publications against it. The first, printed in 1709, was an Essay entitled "Reason and Philosophy no enemies to Faith"; in which he maintained, "that the words used about the duration of torments in the New Testament, and all over the Septuagint, whence the language of the New Testament was taken, no where mean a proper eternity."[5] In August 1717, says our author, "I drew up a very small paper, containing a sketch of my reasons for that opinion I had long embraced, and intimated to the world, against the eternity of hell torments, in my Reason and Philosophy no enemies to Faith."[6] His fullest work on this subject, an 8vo. of one hundred and forty-five pages, appeared in 1740, and was reprinted in

[4] Lempriere.
[5] Whiston's Memoirs of his Life and Writings, 144, 145.
[6] Ibid, 286.

1752,[7] entitled "The Eternity of Hell Torments considered." It is a collection of texts of Scripture, and testimonies of the three first centuries concerning them, with notes and observations.[8] From these facts, we are justified in regarding Whiston, through the principal part of his long life, as an undoubted opponent of the endless misery of the wicked. He affirmed with positiveness that this doctrine was not founded in the Sacred Scriptures. But he was not equally certain that all mankind will eventually enjoy endless happiness. The theory of the modern Destructionists he did not hold, for he had a hope, if not a weak faith, in Universalism. Remarking on Origen's view of the salvation of the devil and the damned, he says, "all that I can see any hope for is future to the world to come and to the next age, and must therefore belong to a still future world and future age, after the destruction of the bodies of the wicked in Gehenna, at the general resurrection. I mean as the prophet Esdras seems to hint, that there may be in the utmost bowels of the compassion of the Almighty, another resurrection and another time of trial allotted to these miserable creatures somewhere, in which many or all of them may possibly be recovered, and saved at last by the infinite indulgence and care of their Creator. And God may still imitate his original goodness to Adam, when he was fallen."[9]

[7] Life of Tillotson by Thomas Birch. Ibid, 376.
[9] Eternity of Hell Torments considered, p. 133.

But after all, it is doubtful whether Whiston had any very distinct views of the future condition either of the righteous or wicked. Sometimes he seems to intimate, that although the righteous will exist much longer than the wicked, neither may be strictly eternal with God in the duration of their existence, not even any finite or subordinate creature whatever.[a]

VIII. Whiston's principal pamphlet soon called forth a defence of endless misery from Mr. (afterward Dr.) William Dodwell, Rector of Shottesbrook in Berkshire, in two sermons preached before the University of Oxford, in March 1741, and printed there in 8vo. in 1743; in the preface to which he affirms, that the article of the eternity of future punishment "is so fundamental a part of the christian religion, and so intimately united with its most essential doctrines, and is in itself the strongest enforcement of its practical duties, that it is scarcely possible to attack it in a more vital branch, or more to lessen the influence of this great and gracious scheme for the reformation of mankind, than by weakening the sanctions, with which the divine lawgiver has supported it."[1] The sermons of Dodwell were followed in the succeeding year, 1744, by a larger treatise, entitled "An Enquiry into the Scripture doctrine concerning the duration of Future Punishment." Its author was Matthew Hor-

[a] Eternity of Hell Torments, pp. 63, 64, 89.
[1] Life of Tillotson, by Thomas Birch.

berry, B. D. Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and chaplain to the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry. Considering his task as being of a very unpleasant character, he undertook it with great reluctance, being pressed into it by the Bishop. He brings forward the texts in the New Testament in which he supposes the doctrine of endless punishment to be taught, and labors to show that they inculcate nothing inconsistent with reason. This work is commenced thus: "The several treatises which have, within these late years, been published questioning the doctrine of the eternity of future punishment, and the too great success which it may be feared they have met with in a licentious and unbelieving age, may have rendered it perhaps but too necessary to examine this subject once more." Whiston's treatise received his chief attention, but there are occasional notices of "The World unmasked or the Philosopher the greatest Cheat," which had been translated from the French, and published in England about eight years before.

IX. In that circle of lofty spirits of whom we speak in this chapter, and who agreed in discarding the eternal punishment of mankind, we may reckon that greatest of philosophers, Sir Isaac Newton. Notwithstanding the incredible labor he bestowed on other subjects, he gave himself time to think, and speak, and write upon religion. Whiston, a man of the strictest veracity, and one who, from his intimate acquaintance, had every op-

portunity of knowing the opinions of Sir Isaac, declares that their views were the same on the subject of eternal punishment.[2] That this incomparable genius swerved widely from the standard of what is now called orthodoxy, cannot, for a moment, be disputed; and it is equally well known, that he deposited his sentiments in the bosom of his particular friends on subjects concerning which his views were not generally known until after his death. Nor can we have confidence that he did not develope his mind in his unpublished manuscripts, since it is laid to the charge of Bishop Horsely that he had suppressed some of his papers.[3] In his paraphrase upon Revelation xiv. 10, 11, he says, "the degree and duration of the torments of these degenerate and anti-christian people, should be no other than would be approved of by those angels who had ever labored for their salvation, and that Lamb who had redeemed them with his most precious blood."[4]

X. The statement which we have here made concerning Sir Isaac Newton, may be repeated in reference to the sound and amiable divine, Dr. Samuel Clarke. Whiston knew him well, and wrote a memoir of his life; and he gives his testimony concerning the Dr's rejection of the doctrine of endless misery, from what he himself had discovered of his sentiments. Clarke was a sincere inquirer

[2] Eternity of Hell Torments, p. 1.
[3] Sparks' Essays and Tracts, ii. 230.
[4] Eternity of Hell Torments, p. 49.

after truth, and it is what reason dictates us to believe, that his opinions should be liberal on this point as well as on others, concerning which every one knows he departed from the generally received doctrines.

XI. Contemporary with Whiston lived Dr. George Cheyne, and the Chevalier Ramsay, the former a physician, the latter a man of letters, and both indisputably Universalists. Dr. Cheyne was educated at Edinburg, at the age of thirty removed to London, and resided in England during the remainder of his life, which was protracted to the mature age of seventy-two. Among the works he wrote, the best known, is his treatise entitled, Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion; and it is in this that he asserts his belief of the final salvation of all mankind. There is no elaborate defence of this particular sentiment, nor even a general exposition of the evidences by which it is sustained; but it is involved in his reasoning, and it is plainly and directly, but briefly stated. He maintained that there is a principle of action in intelligent beings, analagous to that of attraction in the material system, which is the principle of reunion with the first cause, who "infinitely powerful, and perfect, must necessarily subject, draw and unite all intelligent beings to himself, to make them as happy as their respective natures can admit." He is the sole object of their happiness, and they must be brought to him to enjoy it. "This happiness is the very end of their creation, it being im-

possible infinite perfection should make intelligent beings, for any less, or any other end."[5]

XII. Andrew Michael Ramsay, commonly called the Chevalier, like Dr. Cheyne, was a Scotchman, and was born at Ayr, June 9th, 1686. After receiving his education at Edinburg, he travelled into Holland. In 1710 he visited the celebrated Fenelon, at Cambray, by whom he was persuaded to embrace the Catholic faith. By the friendship and patronage of this great man, he obtained an honorable situation as tutor to one of the French Dukes, and to the Prince of Turrene. He was afterwards at Rome, engaged in the education of the children of the Pretender ; but becoming disgusted at the petty quarrels, and immoral lives of the Catholics, he returned to Scotland, where he was received with favor. In 1730 he was honored by the University of Oxford with a Doctor's degree, and he excited the attention of many of the learned men of England. He died in France, in 1743, while in the service of his friend and patron the Duc de Turrene. Besides several other works, he wrote the history of M. de Turrene, and the life of the learned and amiable Fenelon.

Those works in which he favors the doctrine of Universalism, are the travels of Cyrus, and Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion. The former was regarded by critics as the best of all his performances. It is fictitious, though

5 Philosophical Principles, edition 1715.

many important facts are incorporated into it; and it has been pronounced by Voltaire, a feeble imitation of Fenelon's celebrated Telemachus. Cyrus, a young prince, afterward King of Persia, is the hero of the story; and in the course of his travels, he passes through various countries, studying their manners, their laws and their religions. He visits the Magi, he learns the history and views of Zoroaster, he reads the books of Hermes, he converses with Pythagoras, becomes acquainted with the religion of the Hebrews, and derives from Daniel, the prophet of the Most High, what the author supposed to be the doctrine of pure religion. Thus the young prince, passing through the various degrees of improvement which the philosophers made upon one another, arrives at last at the knowledge of a perfect system of truth, and perceives that in the religion of all nations, how wrong soever, there is a very striking similarity. The different philosophers with whom he conversed, successively unfolded to him new truths mixed with errors. Zoroaster confutes the mistakes of the Magi, Pythagoras those of Zoroaster, the Hebrew priests those of Pythagoras, and Daniel, representing a perfect christian, rejects the misconceptions of all the rest. The cruel dogma of endless misery is not contained in the perfect system which Daniel teaches the young prince, who had learned from Eleazer, the Hebrew, that God "drew spirits out of nothing to

make them happy; and he punishes them that they may return into order."[4]

"The Philosophical Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion," is an elaborate production. It is divided into two parts, in the first of which the author endeavors to demonstrate "that the great principles of Natural Religion are founded upon the most invincible evidence; and that the essential doctrines of Revealed Religion are perfectly conformable to reason." In the second he attempts to show, "that vestiges of all the principal doctrines of the Christian Religion are to be found in the monuments, writings or mythologies of all nations, ages or religions."

He maintains, in the first part, that "God's design in creating finite intelligencies could only be to make them eternally happy, in the knowledge and love of his boundless perfections." "All reasonable agents act for an end. This end must be either doing good to themselves or to others. God's design in creating could not be to do good to himself, and therefore it must be to do good to others." He maintained also, that "Eternal Providence desires, wills and employs continually all the means necessary to lead intelligent creatures to their ultimate and supreme happiness." "Almighty power, wisdom and love cannot be eternally frustrated in his absolute and ultimate designs: therefore, God will at last pardon and re-establish in happiness all lapsed beings."

[4] Boston edition, p. 226.

We have, in the Chevalier Ramsay, the rare specimen of a Catholic Universalist; and the warm patronage bestowed on him by Fenelon, to whom his sentiments were well known, brings the religious opinions of the latter into question. The Travels of Cyrus may well be supposed to have been written after the Chevalier became an admirer of this distinguished French divine, and the Philosophical Principles was a posthumous work; so that it is tolerably certain both were written after their author made a profession of the Catholic religion. But he died in the bosom of the Mother Church, while a warm adherent to sentiments she had repeatedly denounced as the most damnable heresy.

XIII. We introduce here, rather out of place in regard to time, one deserving to be ranked among those who in the 17th century avowed and defended Universalism. Jane Leadly, the founder of a sect of christians known by the name of the Philadelphian[7] Society, was born in 1633, and became the wife of a rich English merchant. She was benevolent, mild and amiable, but wanted sound judgment. Her principal aim was to bring to an end the differences and dissensions among christians; and this she endeavored to do by recommending, that mankind regard less their differences in doctrine and discipline, and join in listening to the suggestions of

[7] From the two Greek words, φιλεω signifying *to love*, and αδελφος *brethren*.

the Holy Spirit in their hearts. She affirmed, with great reason and truth, that if they would do this, a glorious scene of charity, concord and felicity would succeed on earth, and that all bitterness among christians would cease. A doctrine, at once so cheering in itself, and so congenial with the ardor of her benevolence, led her to announce as with the authority of God, that such a desirable event would happen, and that she had a commission to proclaim the approach of this glorious communion of Saints; that before the end of the world, all would be united in one church, divisions would cease, and this would be the true kingdom of Jesus Christ, the only residence of the Holy Spirit; that as mutual love would then be the ruling passion of men, the whole world would be united in a *Philadelphian* Society. A state of things so truly happy, was to be dissolved on earth, only to exist again, in absolute perfection, in the world of bliss. Such was the hope which the founder of the Society entertained in the final restoration of all fallen intelligences, a doctrine which holds an eminent place in her writings.

It does not appear that this Society ever set up a separate worship. Its principles spread silently; and there is no cause of wonder, since they were what every good man would wish to have prevail. The fortune of the founder enabled her to publish her works, which appeared in eight volumes. Among her followers there were some persons of learning; but those who were the most eminent in

the defence of her opinions, were John Pordage, a physician, and Thomas Bromley, author of some works in English, which, being translated into the Dutch and German languages, made proselytes in those countries. Jane Leadly died in 1704, and her life has been written by Lee.[8]

[8] Mosheim Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. Part ii. Chap. ii. 5. Histoire des Sectes Relig. par M. Gregoire, T. i. 148, 149.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

We add, as an appendix to this chapter, a brief account of four eminent individuals, ranked by us in the list of those who have raised doubts on the subject of eternal punishment, viz. Daniel De Foe, Dr. Isaac Watts, Dr. Phillip Doddridge, and Dr. Edward Young. The former is best known as the author of Robinson Crusoe. From obscurity and poverty he rose to preeminence and fame, and the merits which his works possessed gained him the friendship of literary men. He continued through life in the profession of an orthodox nonconformist, nor did he escape the imputation of being an enemy to religious liberty. It has, however, been conjectured, in the following passage by Dr. Kippis, that the author of Robinson Crusoe might possibly be disposed to soften the rigors of Calvinism in one essential point.

"Many fine displays of natural sentiment occur in Robinson Crusoe's man Friday; and there is one which, on reading it, appeared to the present writer particularly striking. It is in the conversation which Crusoe has with Friday concerning the Devil. Friday, being informed by his master that God was stronger than the Devil, asks, *if God much strong, much might as the Devil, why God not kill the Devil, so make him no more wicked?* At this question Crusoe was greatly surprised and embarrassed; but, having recovered himself a little, he answered, God would at last punish the Devil severely, that he is reserved for judgment, and is to be cast into the bottomless pit, to dwell with everlasting fire. Still, however, Friday not being satisfied, returns upon his master, repeating his words, *Reserve at last, me no understand: but why not kill the Devil now? not kill him*

great ago? You may as well ask me, replied Crusoe, why God does *not* kill you and me, when we do wicked things here that offend him; we are preserved to repent and be pardoned. At this Friday mused awhile, and then said, mighty affectionately, *well, well, that well; so you, I, Devil, all wicked, all preserve, repent, God pardon all.* Perhaps it would be going too far to assert that De Foe intended covertly to insinuate that there might be a more merciful distribution of things, in the final result of Divine Providence, than he dared at that time openly to exhibit."* Thus far Dr. Kippis.

The character of Dr. Watts is universally known. As a poet, as a man of learning and piety, his praise has long been on every tongue; and of all the dissenters in England, he was one of the highest fame. In some of his works he defended the doctrine of endless misery; but in the latter part of his life, a considerable change took place in his religious opinions. The following extract from one of his sermons will show, that even while he openly defended the doctrine in question, his mind was not free from strong doubts upon the subject.

"Whensoever any such criminal in hell shall be found making such a sincere and mournful address to the righteous and merciful judge of all; if, at the same time, he is truly humble and penitent for his past sins, and is grieved at his heart for having offended his Maker, and melts into sincere repentance; I cannot think that a God of perfect equity and rich mercy will continue such a creature under his vengeance, but rather that the perfections of God will contrive a way for escape, though God has not given us here, any revelation or discovery of such special grace as this."†

Again he says, in the same work, "I grant that the eternity of God himself, before this world began, or after its consummation, has something in it so immense and so incomprehensible, that in my most mature thoughts I do not choose to enter into those infinite abysses; nor do I think we ought usually, when we speak concerning creatures, to affirm positively, that their existence shall be equal to that of the blessed God, *especially with regard to the duration of their punishment.* Perhaps this sort of language may carry in it something beyond what we are called to discourse about, at least in this mortal state; and, therefore, such comparisons are more safely omitted."

Of the candor, benevolence, meekness and learning of Dr. Doddridge, it is perhaps, unnecessary to speak. Dr. Samuel Clark was his instructer, and afterward his faithful guardian. As the preceptor of an academy, an office he filled through the greater part of his life, he sustained the highest rank: his useful labors and exalted character secured him the esteem of the learned and the admiration of all parties.

Concerning endless punishment he says, "We cannot pretend to decide *a priori*, or previous to the event, so far to say, that the pun-

*Monthly Repository, xiii. 659.
† See his work entitled "World to come." Also, Monthly Repository, xiv. 90

ishments of hell must and will certainly be eternal."† Nevertheless, the good Dr. thought it not proper "positively to determine" that they would have an end.

No one who looked on Universalism as a false and dangerous doctrine, could have enjoyed the extatic pleasure felt by Dr. Doddridge on the reception of the letter containing the following extracts, from his friend Mr. J. Barker.

"Yet it is so, we read it in the book of God, that word of truth and gospel of our salvation, that as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. * * * * * * Yes, Doddridge, it is so. The fruit of our Redeemer's sufferings and victory is the entire and eternal destruction of sin and death. And is it not a glorious destruction? a most blessed ruin? No enemy so formidable, no tyranny so bitter, no fetters so heavy and galling, no prison so dark and dismal, but they are vanquished and disarmed; the unerring dart is blunted and broken, the prison pulled down and rased. Our Lord is risen, as the first fruits of them that slept."‡

At the time of the reception of this letter, Dr. Doddridge was very dangerously ill; and it is said by his biographer, that "the friendship expressed in it, and the divine consolations which it administered so deeply affected him, that there was reason to be apprehensive that his tender frame would have sunk under the emotions of his gratitude and joy."‖

Equally well known with either of the foregoing, and greater even than Watts perhaps, as a poet, was Dr. Edward Young. To many it will seem the height of folly and presumption to intimate that a man who has, as it were, sung the praises of hell, had any doubts of the strict eternity of punishment. But doubts of this kind have sometimes existed in the minds of those who have been generally regarded as invulnerable to them; and we have some facts to submit in the case of Dr. Young which we cannot account for, admitting that he believed in endless punishment. It is a probable conjecture, that, like Tillotson's famous sermon, some of Young's most forcible passages, in which his genius seems to riot in the description of hell, were designed by him as a covert exposure of the awfulness and unliklihood of his theme. A writer in the Monthly Repository § had this impression, and refers to the following extracts as instances.

The damned sinner in hell is represented as making the following just and powerful appeal:

"Why burst the barriers of my peaceful grave?
Ah! cruel death! that would no longer save,
But grudg'd me e'en that narrow dark abode,

† Theolog. Lectures, prop. 163.

‡ Orton's Memoirs of the life, character and writings of Rev. P. Doddridge, p. 274—277, et alibi. Also, Letters to and from Rev. P. Doddridge, pp. 142—145.

‖ See the Life of Dr. Doddridge, prefixed to his works, London edition, 1792

§ xi. 463.

And cast me out into the wrath of God;
Where shrieks, the roaring flame, the rattling chain,
And all the dreadful eloquence of pain,
Our only song; black fire's malignant light,
The sole refreshment of the blasted sight.
Must all those pow'rs heaven gave me to supply
My soul with pleasure, and bring in my joy,
Rise up in arms against me, join the foe,
Sense, reason, memory, increase my woe?
And shall my voice ordained on hymns to dwell,
Corrupt to groans, and blow the fires of hell?
Oh! must I look with terror on my gain,
And with *existence* only measure *pain*?
What? no reprieve, no least indulgence giv'n,
No beam of hope from any point of heav'n!
Ah! Mercy! Mercy! art thou dead above?
Is Love extinguished in the source of Love?"

No man who did not feel the justness of this plea could set it forth so powerfully.

Again.

"Father of Mercies! why from silent earth
Didst thou awake and *curse* me into birth?
Tear me from quiet, ravish me from night?
And make a thankless present of thy light?
Push into being a reverse of thee,
And animate a clod with misery?
The *beasts* are happy, they come forth and keep
Short watch on earth, and then lie down to sleep.
Pain is for man; and oh! how vast a pain
For crimes which made the Godhead bleed in vain!
Assail'd his groans, as far as in them lay,
And flung his agonies and death away!
As our dire punishment forever strong,
Our constitution too forever young,
Curs'd with returns of vigor, still the same
Pow'rful to bear, and satisfy the flame:
Still to be caught, and still to be pursued!
To perish still and still to be renewed!
And this, *my Help, my God*, at thy decree?
Nature is chang'd, and hell should succor me.
And canst thou then look down from perfect bliss,
And see me plunging in the dark abyss?
Calling thee Father, in a sea of fire?
Or pouring blasphemies at Thy desire?
With mortals' anguish wilt Thou raise Thy name?
And by my pangs omnipotence proclaim?" ‡

‡ See "The Last Day," a poem, Book iii.

Can it be supposed that Dr. Young did not see the plain sense of the following passage from his "Night Thoughts"?

"Who, without pain's advice, would e'er be good?
Who, without death, but would be good in vain?
Pain is to save from pain, *all punishment*
To make for peace; and death, to save from death:
And second death to guard immortal life!
By the same tenderness divine ordained,
That planted Eden, and high bloomed for man,
A fairer Eden endless in the skies.
Great source of *good alone*, how kind in all!
In vengeance kind! Pain, death, Gehenna, save."

Still further to confirm the opinion we have expressed, we may remark, that Dr. Young was a great admirer of "Hartley on Man," a work in which Universalism is vigorously defended. It gave him "great satisfaction," a fact hardly to be accounted for, if he thought one of its principal doctrines a dangerous error. In his commendation he has particular reference to that part which will give pleasure to men who think themselves immortal. He referred to the fact of its having gainsayers, and of its manifesting the author's *freedom* of thought, yet he does not qualify his praise. See the following letter, addressed to the celebrated Samuel Richardson, author of Pamelia.

May 8th, 1749.

Dear Sir—When I was in town, I asked you if you had read Dr. Hartley's book. You told me you had not. I was sorry for it, for I have a curiosity to know your opinion of it. I have since read it a second time, and with great satisfaction. It is certainly a work of distinction; by men of distinction therefore, it ought to be read. It is calculated for men of sense. I make no doubt but that it has its gainsayers; but therefore it is a proper subject for your discussion and discernment. So few books have any thing new in them, that those which have are entitled to our particular regard. All I will venture to say about it is, that there is no man who seriously considers himself as immortal, but will find his pleasure, if not his profit in it. And if you are not one of those men, you have greatly imposed on, dear sir,

Your very affectionate and most humble servant, E. YOUNG.

P. S. It is evident that Dr. Hartley has thought for himself, a character without which no writer can be of any considerable value. And thus far the author I recommend to your perusal resembles yourself, which is a sort of bribe to you in his favor.*

The following extract will confirm the opinion to which the foregoing epistle must have given rise in the reader's mind. It is taken from the first of his Moral Letters.

*This letter is extracted from the "Correspondence of Richardson." See also Month. Repos. i. 656.

believe, that a powerful influence in favor of Universalism took its rise, and reached many hearts to which, at this late day, it cannot distinctly be traced.

III. An eminent defender of Universalism is well known by the name of John William Petersen. His great learning and piety secured him esteem, and raised him to be minister and first member of the ecclesiastical consistory of Lunenburg. He was a man of great mildness, charity and benevolence, and of a florid and warm imagination, but of a weak judgment. Such being the structure of his mind, he was peculiarly susceptible of delusion, a striking proof of which he gave in becoming the follower and panegyrist of the Countess of Asseburg. This woman, in a fit of partial derangement, announced that she had been blessed with the beatific vision of God, and had been charged by the Supreme to manifest his will on earth. Petersen's wife fell unhappily into a like revery, and by the abundance of their revelations they got the advantage of him, and caused him to travel about with his wife, uttering prophesies and revealing the secrets of heaven. A great excitement succeeded to his labors, and a large number of people, of all sects and conditions, became his followers. It was thought necessary in 1692 to depose him from his station, after which he retired to a rural retreat in the territory of Magdeburg, where he cheered his declining life by epistolary correspondence, by

CHAPTER V.

UNIVERSALISM IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

PART I.

History of Universalism in Germany concluded.

I. The chapter on which we now enter will be found of a miscellaneous nature, since it is impossible to weave the facts it embraces into a connected narrative. We have, however, assigned a distinct department to each country in which we shall endeavor to trace the progress of Universalism; but the men of whom we are to speak, in most of cases, had no connexion with each other, except in the affinity of their religious views.

II. The first chapter was closed with an account of the change effected in the principles of the Anabaptists by the influence of Menno, after whom they have since been called in Germany and Holland, Mennonites. Whether the German and Dutch individuals now to be mentioned had any connexion with that class of christians, is doubtful; some of them may have had; but concerning the literary professors, we think it improbable. From the labors and writings of the Anabaptists and their successors, it is nevertheless not unreasonable to

believe, that a powerful influence in favor of Universalism took its rise, and reached many hearts to which, at this late day, it cannot distinctly be traced.

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study, and preparing several works which he issued from the press.

He held that Jesus Christ was composed of two human natures, one of which he possessed in heaven before the creation, and the other he received of the Holy Virgin. There shall be a double resurrection before the end of the world; Jerusalem shall be rebuilt; and the Saviour will reign a thousand years upon the earth. Hell shall then be thrown open, and all intelligent beings, not excepting the demons, shall be called forth to happiness. So numerous were his followers, and of so exalted a rank, that it was thought necessary to write against him; but being possessed of leisure, he made voluminous replies. His distinguishing sentiment was that of Universal Restoration, which he seems to have advanced in the most of his works, one of which, entitled the Restitution of all Things,[1]

[1] The title is in Greek Αποκαταστασις Παντων. In this work, it is said, he has strenuously defended the point, and collected the writings of several others upon the same subject, in lesser tracts. See preface to Jeremy White. I have seen but one of Petersen's works, entitled *Der Bekrafftigte Origenes, in der Lehre von der Wiederbringung aller Dinge, gegen den so genannten Entkrafften Origenem*, &c. &c. That is, A Defence or Vindication of Origen on the doctrine of the Restitution of all Things, in reply to the so called Origen Overthrown, &c. In this work, Petersen mentions a Mr. Conrad Baumann, a court preacher, and an open defender of Universal Restitution, who had been abused on account of his faith, in a coarse and vulgar manner. The substance of the work is as follows: 1st, The absolute decrees of God are contrasted with the decrees of rigid Calvinism. 2d, Evidence, or proof, of the Universal Compassion of God in Christ Jesus, in opposition to the absolutely eternal punishment of the Hessian Calvinistic Theology. 3d, An examination of an important question, viz. "whether God intended there shall ultimately be devils in his creation;" to which a few smaller tracts are added.

was written principally to defend that doctrine. The Key to the Apocalypse was the title given to another of his works, in which he fully developes the points of his belief. The sect to which he gave rise did not long survive him, though there have been many, in almost every subsequent age, who have entertained similar opinions.[2]

IV. "Boetius and Balduin," to quote the words of Mosheim, "professors of Divinity, the former at Helmstadt, and the latter at Wittemberg, carried on a controversy which had for its subject the following question, *whether or no the wicked shall one day be restored to life by the merits of Christ.*" We can put no construction on these words, unless we suppose the controversy related to Universalism. Which of the professors defended the affirmative of the question is not known; nor have we been able to find any further account, than the mere statement by Mosheim.[3]

V. We introduce into this chapter the account of a book, to which we can assign no precise date, entitled the Everlasting Gospel,[4] by Paul Siegvolk. The design of the author through the whole work, is to illustrate and defend the doctrine of Universal Restitution. The proof of it he deduces first from the Divine character. God is

[2] The account of Petersen has been collected from Mosheim, Cen. xvii. Part ii. chap. i. 34, and Histoire des Sectes Religieuses, par M. Gregoire, T. i. p. 304.

[3] Eccls. Hist. Cen. xvii. Part ii. chap. i. 38.

[4] The whole title is as follows: "The Everlasting Gospel, commanded to be preached by Jesus Christ, judge of the living and dead, unto all creatures, Mark xvi. 15, concerning the eternal redemption found

love ; all his works are works of love ; all his creatures productions of love ; all punishments, yea, even the most dreadful judgments spring from this essential principle of the Divine nature. God's wrath itself is love, as manifested in the chastisements of disobedience. From this it followed, without contradiction in the author's mind, that none of the punishments which God inflicts can be endless, "as it is impossible that Love should forever and without end, plague and torment what it loves ; but by all pains and torments seeks, and can seek nothing else, but the amendment of its beloved object."

The will of God : It is almighty, and must eventually be fulfilled ; and as God wills the salvation of all men, they must most certainly be saved. It is impossible that there should be any thing strictly eternal opposed to God. To allow that there will always be a principle in existence opposed to God, is to introduce again the exploded notions of the Manicheans.

The merits of Christ : They are stronger than the Devil and all sin ; a fact which none but an infidel or blasphemer can deny. How opposed is this to the doctrine of endless punishment.

He describes particularly the signification of the words which are sometimes used to express *endless* duration. These words signify "different eterni-

out by him, whereby Devil, Sin, Hell and Death, shall at last be abolished, and the whole creation restored to its primitive purity ; being a testimony against the present anti-christian world."

ties"; such as have neither beginning nor end, when applied to God; such as have a beginning, but no end, when applied to the existence of man, to the benefits which come from God, and especially to the future life; and often "periodical eternities," as when applied to the life of man on earth, the duration of the Levitical priesthood, the time before Christ's incarnation, the ages of this present and the next world, &c. &c. Punishments are said to be eternal in the last sense of the word, for they had a beginning and must have an end; and if the Spirit of God called the life time of man on earth *eternal*, how much more may punishment of a very long duration be considered *eternal*, though not strictly endless.

In regard to punishment, Siegvolk contended it should be in proportion to sin, and the situation of the sinner. All the punishments of sin are comprehended in this one word *death*, yet there are different sorts or degrees of damnation, meted according to the offences of the creature; and hence are derived the expressions, *first* and *second* death. And as punishments are measured by wickedness, so are rewards by the good deeds men perform: as we read of the first born unto salvation, so this implies the *after-born*; and as there are the first born from the first death, so there may be the first and afterborn from the second death. The phrases *this world*, and *that which is to come*, he explains to mean, this state of being, and that period of the

future in which the damned shall suffer punishment, which may embrace many thousands of years.

He maintains the salvation of the Devils, distinguishing between the holy nature in which they were created, and the sin they have contracted; the latter God must hate, the former he must love; and as the angelic nature is not lost, it may be recovered. God created all things in heaven and earth, visible and invisible, by Jesus Christ, and by him will reconcile them all unto himself.

When he approaches the particular proofs of Universal Restitution, he says, "as the centre of the whole Bible, whereat all its contents aim, is this, *that by God in the beginning every thing was created very good; and that by Christ, the heavenly Wisdom, through whom all things were created, all whatsoever is corrupted through sin, must at last be made good again;* so may any one whose eyes are opened to see clearly into this point, find a great many testimonies of this eternal truth, both in the books of the Old and New Testament. But we will for our present purpose only alledge some of the plainest sentences," &c. He then proceeds, by an appeal to the Scriptures, to substantiate the doctrine, using for that purpose those texts in which it is evidently asserted, and on which it is rested by its advocates at the present day; and he closes by considering the beneficial tendency of the sentiment, and refuting the opinion that it tends to licentiousness.[5]

5 At what time this work was written it is now impossible to tell. hough I feel confident that it was a production of the 17th centur,y

He was evidently a man of some learning, and very familiar with the Scriptures; a trinitarian, and a believer in a long, disciplinary punishment in the future state. That there will be no punishment after death was a doctrine, in his opinion, which would make men careless with respect to sin; but, to use his own words, he held the doctrine of the Restoration of all things "in an orthodox manner, and taught with our beloved Lord Jesus, the Universal Reconciler of the World, that a man, even for every idle word, if he does not repent of it in this world, and consequently much more for all other and greater sins, shall not only suffer a certain and indeed most painful punishment in the next world, but that also, by the neglecting of this present time of grace, he will deprive himself of the enjoyment of an unspeakable glory, to wit, of the heavenly birthright, or the joint government with Christ in the world to come, and the celestial

The author was probably one of the German Anabaptists; and if so, and I have assigned a right date to the Everlasting Gospel, it is a proof that the doctrine of the Restoration was holden by them long after the Reformation. Indeed, there can be no doubt of the fact. The Mennonites who have settled in America, as is well known, have maintained this doctrine. Siegvolk's book was probably brought into this country by some of them, and reprinted here; for the copy which lays before me, bears date Germantown, 1753, and this is the location of the principal congregation of Mennonites in the United States. At the time the celebrated Elhanan Winchester embraced Universalism, he visited that town, and preached to the German Baptists, another name for Mennonites, who he declares held to the doctrine of the Restoration. This edition of 1753 was probably distributed through the middle and southern states, and Mr. W. met with copies of it at different times while he was a Baptist. He himself, afterwards, during his residence in England, published an edition of the same work.

priesthood, forever and ever, so that he will never be able to obtain it again, if even he was to seek carefully with the bitterest tears of repentance to recover it, yea, if even all the holy angels and elect of God were to make intercession for him in this respect, it would be to no purpose." Siegvolk looked beyond all this to a state of perfect and unending felicity, into which all intelligent beings shall be admitted.[6]

VI. Another Universalist of this country was a Mr. Marsay, of whose biography we are almost totally ignorant. A part of his works weas translated into English, and published in Scotland in 1749, under the title, "Discourses on subjects relating to a Spiritual Life." Speaking of Universal Restoration he says, "Esau and Pharaoh shall not be excluded from this act of grace, glory be to God in the highest. For all the kingdoms of the earth,

[6] Since the above was written, I have received the following additional particulars from a friend in Ohio. If they are correct, it seems the account of Siegvolk's work should have gone into the succeeding department of this chapter. But on this subject I have not sufficient evidence to decide.

Siegvolk was born and educated in Harford-schles in Holland: and flour shed in the time of William, prince of Orange. He was not a regular clergyman, as appears from his own preface to his Universal Gospel, which was originally written in Low Dutch, and shortly after translated into the German language. He was contemporary with three others who preached the same doctrine: Fisher, Shetz and Shepherd, as appears from letters of correspondence between them. Shetz was considered a more able advocate for the doctrine than Siegvolk. They preached much in the low countries, and made many proselytes among the Hollanders. They were greatly persecuted till the prince of Orange gave them toleration, and arrested the civil arm which was about to be raised against them.

The active and very able part which Shetz took in behalf of the Harford-schles Universalist, drew down upon him the wrath of the

even unto the most unfathomable depths shall be subjected unto our God and to his Christ. Thou wilt bring back all into thy sheepfold, there shall not one be wanting." We suspect this author to have been a visionary, for he speaks in different parts of his work of revelations which had been made to him on spiritual subjects, and, in particular, that he was under the necessity of asserting, as by the immediate command of God, the Restoration of all things. His first publication appeared in 1735. He was a friend of Count Zinzendorf, who visited him at his place of residence.[7]

VII. The points of theology which had been controverted in the 17th century, were destined to excite keener disputes in the 18th, such, says Mosheim, "as *the eternity of Hell Torments;* the reign of Christ *upon earth during a thousand years;* and the *final restoration of all intelligent beings*, to order, perfection and happiness."[8] It would not be possible for us, however, were we possessed of the materials, to enter into a full description of the various controversies which were maintained. Here is a chasm in the history, which neither our plan nor our means will enable us to fill up. Dr. Mosheim must have referred to the first part of the 18th century, as he died in 1755.

In the latter part of this century the controversy took a still wider range. Disgusted at the errors,

popular Clergy; but so far from intimidating the heroic Hollander, this seemed to give more energy to his zeal in the cause of truth.

[7] Preface to third edition of Jeremy White.

[8] Gen. xviii. 20.

bigotry and arrogance of Catholics, Lutherans, and the Reformed, many of the learned in Germany turned from them in disgust: some, sickening at the name of Religion, became Atheists; others, charging upon Christianity the errors of men, took refuge in the comfortless speculations of Deism; but a third class, possessing the prudence to examine the Divine Word for themselves, saw clearly the distinction between the *real* and the *alleged* doctrines of Revelation, and asserted and maintained, with vigor and discretion, the purer system of Jesus Christ. The three principal and popular errors, which they opposed, were the doctrines of the Trinity, Atonement and Eternal Punishment.

VIII. Among these may be reckoned Gruner, Eberhard, Steinbart, Damm, Fuller, and the immortal Semler. Steinbart was teacher of divinity at Frankfort, on the Oder, and his sentiment was, to use his own words, "God can never punish any, more than is necessary for his reformation. He cannot mistake in the choice of his means, and must always reach his end. He would appear less lovely, if one creature should be forever miserable."[9] He published at Zullichan the "Christian Doctrine of Happiness," in which, says the orthodox Erskine, "the unscriptural sentiments which have appeared in German books and journals, as to the divinity and atonement of Christ, are reduced to a system, with several additions of his own."[0]

[9] Erskine's Sketches of Church History.
[0] Ibid, i, 207.

Gruner, divinity-professor at Hall, in a compound of divinity, published in 1777, argues against the divinity and atonement of Christ, and the eternity of hell torments.[1]

IX. But of all whose writings we have seen, Eberhard, in his Apology for Socrates,[2] confutes the most largely the doctrine of endless punishment. Discussing the doctrine of Atonement, he maintains that "Punishment being an evil, cannot be employed by a good being, unless for ends whose goodness is greater than the evils suffered, and which could not be obtained without inflicting them. God punishes not for the common good only, but also for the reformation of the sufferer; which being accomplished, punishment has no further use. It was designed to influence the love and practice of virtue; and when these are produced, it must give place to the happy consequences of amendment. Punishment, therefore, being a benefit even to the sufferer, when properly viewed by him, must produce emotions of love and gratitude."[3]

This work was soon attacked by Mr. H. Van Alphen,[4] and by Huet,[5] minister of the Walloon Church at Utrecht. It is only the arguments of the latter

[1] Erskine's Sketches of Church History, i. 214.

Nieuwe Apologie voor Socrates, Amsterdam, 8vo. 1773.

[2] Erskine's Sketches, i. 26, 27.

[4] Eenige Leerstakken van dan Protestantischen Godsdienst verdedigd, door Mr. H. Van Alphen, Utrecht, 1775, i. e. Some doctrines of the Protestant Religion defended by Mr. H. Van Alphen.

[5] Reflexions sur la Nouvelle Apologie pour Socrate. In 8vo. Utrecht, 1774.

we have been able to examine; and it is sufficient to say, that they are precisely the same which controversialists now use to disprove the doctrine of Universalism. The case of Judas is brought forward to show, if this doctrine be true, it were good for him to have been born, which the Saviour denied; and it is maintained that the doctrine of endless punishment, is a more powerful barrier against crime, and more favorable to repentance.[6]

X. Here we must leave the History of Universalism in Germany. The seed thus sown has taken root, nor can the precious plant ever be destroyed. Its branches may be lopped off; it may bend beneath the pitiless storm; it may be scared by the thunder bolts of human wrath: but the root, secured as with a band of iron and brass, in a genial soil, wet with the dew of heaven, will live and send forth branches anew, to bear the fruit of the spirit, which is love, joy and peace.[7]

6 Histoire des Sectes Religieuses, par M. Gregoire. T. i. 74—78.

7 Since this paragraph was written, a very happy confirmation of the opinion here expressed, and a highly satisfactory testimony to the great unanimity with which the doctrine of endless punishment is rejected by all classes of Protestants in Germany, have appeared in "Dwight's Travels in the North of Germany," published in New York, 1829. The unexceptionable nature of this authority, will give the following paragraph strong claims to the attention of an enlightened christian community.

"The doctrine of the eternity of future punishment is almost universally rejected. I have seen but one person in Germany who believed it, and but one other whose mind was wavering on this subject. Many of them acknowledge that the New Testament seems to inculcate this doctrine; but they find it, as they say, so irreconcilable with our ideas of the infinitely benevolent Being, whom God has revealed himself to be, that if they believed in his perfections, they must reject the doctrine. Some contend that it is not even apparently announced

PART II.

History of Universalism in Holland.

I. Universalism, as was hinted in a former chapter, was early embraced and defended by the Anabaptists of the Low Countries. How far their influence extended, or how ardently in later times, they have professed their faith in this doctrine, we have no means of knowing. Their descendants in America have promulgated it; which may be regarded, at least, as presumptive evidence, that until they emigrated to this country, it was one of the principal tenets of the sect to which they belonged.

II. But in pursuing the History of Universalism, we turn from this class of christians, renowned for their apostolical simplicity, to survey the charac-

those texts which are generally believed with us to involve it, they a different explanation in their interpretation; finding, as they be-, philological difficulties in the way. Some few would meet the of those who believe it, by asserting, that the oldest manuof the New Testament, is of the sixth century; and that, dur- the Arian and other controversies which agitated the church from ge of the Apostles until that time, there is not only a possibility, probability, that some errors have made their way into the text. affirm, as one of the orthodox professors who is considered to be for his piety, told me, respecting himself, that this doctrine tly appears in the New Testament, but that his heart could not it, unless he were to change his views of the character of God. we now enjoy but a single ray of Revelation in comparison with ght which will burst upon our view in the future world; and that we come to behold the glory of God, as it will be revealed to believed that this apparent difficulty in his moral government be explained." p. 421.

ters and sentiments of men of learning and eminence.

Simon Episcopius may justly be placed i class of those authors, who find themselves in doubt and uncertainty concerning the eterni punishment; but who, instead of striking out the broad path of Universalism, have conte themselves with some melioration of the conc of the wicked, which might not in reality an to their perfect salvation. After a long and cal investigation of the subject, Episcopiu rives at the conclusion, that punishment wi eternal in no positive sense. Actual punishu being proportioned to the finite offences of the ture, cannot be eternal; but the loss of the he ly felicity, and an entire hopelessness of obt it will be eternal, and will be a just inflictio slighting the grace of God.

He was born of Protestant parents, at Ai dam, 1583, and was educated there and at Le When Arminius started the controversy conce predestination, and the other harsh tenets Reformed Church, Episcopius became a conv his opinions; and pursuing the study of div and particularly of the controverted points, unabated zeal, he stood at the head of the A ians on the death of their founder. In 161 nation was conferred upon him, and two yea ter he was raised to the divinity professorship i den, in the place of Gomarus, his common a nist and that of his party. Six years after,

the Synod was convoked at Dort, his popularity was unbounded, and he was put forward as the principal organ of the Arminians, and delivered a moderate, grave and eloquent discourse to this assembly of divines. It is well known that after a fruitless contention, the Calvinistic members, excluded the others from the Synod; and it has been conjectured, by men capable of judging, that this was done through fear of the great learning and influence of Episcopius, and the effect his stupendous abilities might produce, had he been permitted to canvass the disputed points of faith. In the absence of the Arminians, their cause was tried, and they were condemned as corruptors of true religion. The effect of this decision was highly detrimental to the Arminians: they were considered enemies to their country, and the established religion, and consequently were treated with great severity. They were deprived of all their offices and emoluments secular and ecclesiastical: and, what afflicted them more deeply than any thing else, their ministers were silenced, and their congregations suppressed. On refusing to obey the order by which they were deprived of the benefit of religious instruction, they were punished with fines, imprisonment, exile, and other marks of ignominy. This state of things continued until the death of Maurice, who, since 1584, had governed the Low Countries. Under the government of his successor, the Arminians experienced justice and clemency, and were recalled from their banishment and

reinstated in the privileges and stations of which they had been deprived. On their return to their native country, they erected churches in the principal places; but the chief object of their concern was the institution of a public seminary of learning for the instruction of their youth, and the propagation of their theological principles. Hence they founded a college at Amsterdam, and Episcopius enjoyed the honor of being their first professor of theology. He survived this appointment only about ten years, and died 4th April, 1643.[8] The grief of his friends at his death was indescribable. He was a man of great learning and commanding powers of eloquence; and he enjoyed the esteem of many learned men, among whom, to his high honor, Grotius may be reckoned.

The sentiment of Episcopius concerning punishment, differed from that of the Arminians generally in the following respect: they, in renouncing Calvinism, did not mitigate the condition of the sinner after he was condemned for his iniquity; but simply relieved him from that decree whereby without any foresight of his evil deeds, he was ordained absolutely to eternal destruction; but his system of theology not only relieved the sinner from the cruel effect of the decree of reprobation, but followed him into hell, denied the eternity of his *positive* punishment, and made it eternal in no sense, except as it was a *loss* of everlasting life.

[8] Moshlem, Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. Part ii. chap. iii. 6, 7, 9, 10.

What condition he assigned the damned after the termination of their actual sufferings, we are unable to say; he does not maintain their annihilation; and we think the result of his system was, to leave them in the possession of a *middle* condition between absolute damnation and beatific bliss.[9]

[9] To those who desire more fully to investigate the sentiments of Episcopius, I recommend an examination of his works, which have been published, in two volumes folio, particularly his Responsio ad Quæstiones Theologicas lxiv. In the sixty second question and reply may be found his views on the subject of punishment, summed up in the following manner:

I. That there is to be a punishment inflicted on the impious and wicked after this life, the principle of divine justice dictates: 2 Thess. i. 6, whence is evinced that the impious are to suffer judgment after death, the scripture every where testifying thereunto: Matt. xxv. 41, &c. &c.

II. That this punishment is to be proportioned to the quantity and quality of the offences and wickedness, the principle of divine justice also requires. And that the quantity and quality of wickedness, should be estimated according to the quantity and quality of *the corresponding grace*, the same justice demands, and the principle of justice renders evident in itself.

III. The Scriptures pronounce this punishment to be eternal. Matt. xxv. last verse, &c. &c. Nor does the principle of justice disagree, as far as relates to the penalty of damnation, or annihilation. This is evident in itself. As it regards a sensible punishment, I say,

IV. That is not repugnant to justice, if it consist in the mere and sensible perpetual privation of that eternal good which the contemners of eternal life despised, joined with an eternal hopelessness of enjoying it, without any other suffering which might be connected with it. If you say that the Scriptures have moreover added a most intense suffering from the burning of eternal fire, then I say,

V. That very intense suffering cannot and ought not to be otherwise understood than as it is commensurate to the greatness of the transgressions. For one suffering is necessarily greater than another, as the sins are not equal. If you say eternal suffering cannot be rendered commensurate with temporal transgressions, then I say,

VI. That suffering from the burning of fire may be called eternal in three respects: 1. Inasmuch as that fire always burns most intensely, and this burning will be connected with a most intense suffering. 2. Inasmuch as fire will burn and produce suffering until it shall be consumed; in which sense the fire by which Sodom and Gomorrah were

III. It is a pleasing task to introduce in connexion with Episcopius one who was possessed of a congenial faith, and a congenial spirit; we mean the learned and well known John Le Clerc. His father was a physician of eminence, and Greek professor at Geneva; and paid the strictest attention to the education of his son, whose natural genius aided the parent's endeavors, and who prefering the study of divinity, was admitted early into orders. Soon he embraced the principles of the Arminians; and a residence of some considerable time at Saumur, where the views of the *hypothetical* Universalists[o] had been zealously defended, would have a tendency to confirm him in his opposition to

burnt, is called eternal, Jude 7th verse, and every where in the Prophets that fire which burns as long as it can, and has any fuel, is called inextinguishable. 3. Inasmuch as, that fire being extinct, the consciousness of wickedness and of crimes will burn the criminals, and an eternal hopelessness of obtaining joy, will follow.

But how God is to inflict this sensible punishment, or this eternal suffering, is to be left to him. For it suffices to say, that God the most just and wise Judge will punish none without their deserving it, nor beyond their merits. In determining the kind of eternity, let every one enjoy his own opinion. M. Simonis Episcopii Responsio ad Questiones Theologicas lxiv, ipsi a Discipulis in privato disputationum Collegio, Amstelodami propositas. Archbishop King puts down Episcopius as one who seems to oppose eternal punishment.

o The *hypothetical* Universalists were a class of men who taught a kind of middle doctrine between the systems of Calvin and Arminius. They were denominated hypothetical Universalists, because they maintained that God is willing to show mercy to all mankind, and because they held that faith in Christ is a necessary condition to render them the objects of the divine mercy. These doctrines prevailed in France, particularly in Saumur, where men of great learning and influence defended them, and they were afterwards embraced at the most of the Protestant Universities. There is no essential difference between the sentiments of the hypothetical Universalists, and those of the Arminians of the present day. See Nicholson's Encyclopedia, art. *Universalists*. Mosheim's Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. Part ii. chap. ii. 14.

the tenets of the Calvinists. After visiting England, where he received highly flattering attention from learned and respectable persons, he formed the determination not to reside at Geneva, but settled at Amsterdam, where he was at first a popular preacher, and afterwards professor in the college of the Arminians.

He was well acquainted with the writings of Episcopius; and in one of his works[1] he recommends attention to what his predecessor had advanced on the subject of future rewards and punishment. He had essentially weakened the foundation of endless misery by maintaining, that there is no term in the Hebrew language which expresses of itself eternal duration, and that Holam, and the other words rendered everlasting, signify a concealed and unknown extent of time, either in reference to the commencement or termination of the thing to which they are applied.[2] Speaking of the doctrine of future retribution, he says, "it is enough that Christ's judgment will be conducted on definite and well-known laws, so that its justice shall be seen by all. For the great diversity of crimes there will be a proportional variety of punishments, whatever they consist in; and the same will be the case with rewards, there being no less a difference in the merits than in the crimes of individuals. But

[1] Hist. Eccl. Duorum Primorum a Christo nato Sæculorum. Prolegomena. Sec iii. Chap. iv, § viii, num. 4.

[2] Ars Critica, &c. See art. on Hell in Rees' Cyclopedia. The definition Parkhurst gives the word will not be found to differ materially from this.

if the eternal duration of either appear to any one repugnant to the divine goodness and justice, he should seek to solve the difficulty by means of the different degrees in punishments and rewards. If after all, eternal punishments inflicted on finite creatures for finite sins, should be judged incapable of being reconciled with the Divine Justice, it would not thence follow that we must doubt the truth of the gospel, or call the Divine Justice in question, because they appear repugnant to right reason. It would be better, if absolutely necessary, to resort to this solution: *that on account of human depravity, God may be said to have threatened more than he will execute, as he can, by his own sovereign authority, remit punishments to mankind; or else that* ETERNITY *may be considered an indefinite duration, to which God hath placed no limits known to us, the word sometimes signifying an* AGE."[3]

There can be no doubt that there existed in Le Clerc's mind strong objections to the doctrine of eternal punishment; and the provisions which he made for the satisfaction of those to whom this doctrine appeared to contradict the divine attributes, evince, with sufficient clearness, that he himself found relief from the distressing reflection that men will be eternally lost, in the fact, either that God had not threatened a punishment absolutely of endless duration; or, if he had, that in some manner, he would provide a way to save his creatures from it.[4]

[3] Hist. Eccles. Duorum Primorum, as quoted before.

[4] Le Clerc was a great admirer of Tillotson's famous sermon, and defended it in the Bibliotheque Choise.

IV. We may, perhaps, with but little impropriety, include among the Dutch Universalists, the learned and ingenious Samuel Crellius. He was born in March, 1660, and pursued the studies of his youth in the academy of the Arminians at Amsterdam. In 1689, he went to Berlin, and, after spending some time there, proceeded to Prussia, whence he departed for Koenigswald, near Frankfort, on the Oder, where he lived many years, discharging the functions of the christian ministry among the Unitarians. While here he was elected an elder at the Synod of Selchovia, and he made frequent journies to Frankfort and Berlin. In 1697, he went to Holland, and from Holland passed over into England, and while in London, he published, in reply to Bull's defence of the Nicene Faith, his view of the opinions of the primitive christians, proved from Barnabas, Hermas and Clemens Romanus. Hence, it is thought, he returned to Holland, and published his Compendium of New Thoughts concerning the First and Second Adam. He then went back to Germany, visited again Berlin, and was courteously received by Ancillonius. He afterwards took up a second residence of some years at Koenigswald, sustaining the office of a minister to the Anti-trinitarians of the March and of Silesia, making frequent visits to Berlin. Here he contracted a friendship with several learned men, particularly with La Croze, with whom he freely corresponded between the years 1710 and 1725. About the end of the year 1725 he took another journey to England,

where he published his work on the Introduction of John's Gospel, and, in April 1727, returned to Holland. He closed his valuable life at Amsterdam, in 1747, aged 87.

Crellius made the principal figure among the Socinians of his time, although he differed from them in some points of his faith. Stoschius, in his History of the 18th century says, "I remember that Crellius, whom I visited at Amsterdam in 1742, and with whom I had much conversation on many heads of the christian doctrine, declared with some emotion, that he did not follow the opinions of Socinus, but cordially believed in the doctrine of the satisfaction of Christ, as it was taught by the Remonstrants, and *was persuaded that all men will be finally saved by Jesus Christ, and delivered from the torments of Hell.*" He prefered to be called an Artemonite, rather than a Socinian, after Artemon, who lived under the reign of the Emperor Severus.[5]

PART III.

History of Universalism in Switzerland.

I. Among the traces of Universalism which we find in Switzerland, our attention is principally drawn to a body of highly respectable divines, to whom a belief in the doctrine of a future *limited*, in

[5] This account of Crellius has been principally collected from a Memoir of him, translated from Fred. Samuel Bock's Historia Anti-trinitariorum, Tom. i. pars i. See also Mosheim Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii part ii. chap. vi. 5 note in loc. and Cen. xviii. 27.

contradistinction from eternal punishment, has been imputed: we allude to the clergy of Geneva. This city was the seat of Calvin's influence and doctrines, and the place where the unfortunate Servetus suffered an unjust and ignominious death, for opposing the doctrine of the Trinity. As early as 1750 the persons of whom we have spoken were charged with holding the sentiments we have attributed to them, by the authors of the celebrated French Encyclopedia, among whom the great D'Alembert and Diderot may be reckoned; and it is asserted that they had entertained these views for thirty years, which, if correct, shows them to have been Universalists almost from the commencement of the xviii century. Here follows a translation of a part of the article from the Encyclopedia.[6]

"*Hell*, which is one of the principal articles of our creed, has ceased to be so in that of many of the ministers of Geneva. According to them, it would be unjust in the Deity, so full of goodness and mercy, to suppose that he is capable of punishing our sins with an eternity of torment. They explain, with as little awkwardness as they may, the positive declarations of Scripture which are opposed to their doctrine, alleging that nothing should be taken literally which is at variance with humanity and reason. They believe in the existence of future punishments, but of limited duration. So that Pur-

[6] See Encyclopedie, par une Societie de gens de lettres, art. *Geneve*. See also Milner's End of Controversy, p. 269.

gatory, one of the principal causes of the separation of the Protestants from the Romish Church, is now the only state of suffering after death which many of them admit—a curious fact to be added to the history of the contradictions of mankind." In addition to this, the authors of the Encyclopedia charged them with Socinianism, and with approaching closely to Deism.

These imputations had not been long before the public, when the clergy implicated came out with their "solemn protest against the imputation of Socinianism," in which they deny the charges brought against them. It is proper, however, to examine this document with discrimination. The Pastors and Professors say, "on several subjects opinions are attributed to *many of us* which we do not hold, and others are misrepresented." This is a tacit acknowledgment that some of them, at least, did hold the opinions in question. Again, they say, "christian charity keeps us at the widest possible distance from persecution, and enables us to bear without uneasiness *some diversity* of opinion on points which are not essential." Here is an acknowledgment that there was a difference of opinion among them, on some points. The charge of Deism made in the Encyclopedia was unreasonable and unfounded; and as it was one of the charges made by the Catholics against the Protestants, so it has been reiterated by *orthodox* Protestants against those who have ventured to depart from their standards of faith. The principal object of the Genevan Clergy

was to defend themselves against this charge. That they were Anti-Calvinists and Anti-Trinitarians will not be denied, nor did they deny that they believed in a limited future punishment. Their reply, on this point, is precisely the same that a New-England Unitarian of the present day would give to the same charge: "our morality is the morality of the gospel, always connected with its doctrines, and deriving thence its strongest sanctions, especially from the promises of eternal life and felicity which it makes to those who reform their conduct, and the threat of eternal condemnation which it denounces against the impious and impenitent. In this respect, as in every other, we think it our duty to keep close to the *language of Scripture*, which speaks not of purgatory, but of heaven and hell, *where every one shall receive according to the deeds done in this life.*" No one can call this a denial of the charge of Universalism. They used the word everlasting, not because they believed in the endless duration of punishment, but because it occurs in the Scriptures; and they surely meant that they used it in a Scriptural sense; believing in no punishment which was not "according to the deeds done in this life." D'Alembert, in defence of the article in the Encyclopedia, says, "If the ministers of Geneva have protested against the article in question, it is evident they have done so as a matter of form, and that they do not wish to make the Confession of Faith pass for any thing else than what it really is. They will continue to speak and think, in public

and in private, just as they did before this Confession was made. *This is attested by all the well informed Frenchmen who have been at Geneva since that time.* We may further observe," continues D'Alembert, "that if the Church of Geneva has, for the present, some reproaches to fear from the other Protestant Churches, they will be only temporary, and that at a period which is probably not very remote, it will have the satisfaction, according to the prediction of Bosseut, to see all these churches united with it in the same belief."[7]

The sentiments of the Genevans became changed, if we may hazard a conjecture, by means of their association with the influx of strangers which the beauty of the city and its surrounding scenery, the salubriousness of the air, and the renown of its literary institutions, drew among them. From all quarters, particularly from France and Holland, the youth, and such in a special manner, as were pursuing a theological education, resorted to Geneva, whose academy then stood in the highest repute among the reformed churches. But its lustre and authority began to decline, from the time that, the Provinces being formed into a free and independent republic, universities were founded at Leyden, Franeker, and Utrecht.[8]

II. In the early part of the 18th century, Universalism found an able advocate in the author

[7] Monthly Repository, vol. xiii. pp. 22—27. Melanges D'Alembert, iii. 465.

[8] Mosheim Eccle. Hist. Cen. xvii. Part ii. chap. ii. 10.

of a work entitled the "World Unmasked," &c.[1] It was originally written in French, and has been attributed to an author whose name was Muralt or Murault.[2] The Abbe Gregoire mentions an author by this name, who, he says, was a Swiss, and who raised doubts concerning the eternity of punishment.[1] It is well known that the French language was in general use among the Swiss literati; and we think it highly probable that Muralt was the author of the work in question.[2] The very wide circulation which this publication had, shows the esteem in which it was held. Two editions of it in French were printed before it was translated, and a second English edition appeared in London as early as 1743. The second volume, the first not being on the subject of Universalism, was reprinted in the United States, at Cooperstown, N. Y. under the superintendence of Rev. Nathaniel Stacy, in the year 1817.

[1] The whole title is as follows: "The World Unmasked, or the Philosopher the greatest Cheat: in twenty-four Dialogues. To which is added a Dissertation on the state of Souls, separated from their bodies, being an epistolary treatise, wherein it is proved, by a variety of arguments deduced from the Holy Scriptures, that the punishments of the wicked will not be endless, and all objections against it solved."

[2] Universalist Miscellany by Vidler, i. 282.

[1] Histoire des Sectes Religieuses, i. 414. This author mentions three of Muralt's works, "Lettres sur les Anglais," "Lettres Fanatiques," and "l'Instinct Divin recommande aux Hommes."

[2] Mosheim mentions Muralt, who he says was a Swiss, and whom he classes as a Deist. With how little reason this is done may be learned from the fact, that Muralt believed in the existence of a God, in the government of the world by his wise Providence, and in the immortality of the soul; and that he held that Jesus Christ came into the world to establish these three points by his ministry See Eccle. Hist. Cen. xviii. 6.

Of the letters which compose the second volume, the first six are devoted to the application of Scripture testimony in favor of the doctrine of Universalism, and to the answering of objections which have been started against this sentiment. The next seven are employed in showing the manner of the Restoration, and the necessary purification which the author thought souls must undergo, in order to prepare them for a state of heavenly felicity; and herein also the opinions of divines of different denominations are compared, whereby is shown, that, admitting their own hypotheses to be true, the purification and salvation of all souls must follow. The last is devoted to the consideration of the practical consequences resulting from a belief in the preceding system. It is an absolute refutation of Mosheim's charge of Deism against this author, to say, that he maintains, in this work, that the doctrine of eternal misery is a great cause of Deism among reflecting men; and he wished to bring his views of the salvation of all men into notice, that this objection against christianity might be removed.[3]

III. Jacob Vernes was born at Languedoc, and became a minister of a church in Geneva, where he died in 1788, aged 60. He published a catechism,

[3] I mention in this place, because I know not what other to assign it, a work which I have not been able to obtain, and of which I have never seen any account: "Entretiens sur la Restitution Universelle de la Creation," i. e. A Conference on Universal Restitution. It is said to have been written by a Prussian Nobleman. See Preface to the first edition of Jeremy White on Divine Goodness.

in which he denied the doctrine of original sin, the trinity, and the incarnation, and taught that in regard to the doctrine of endless punishment, the Bible seemed to afford proof both for and against it.[4]

IV. Although Charles Bonnet is not certainly known to have been a Universalist, yet we derive so strong a conviction from his works that he believed in the eventual salvation of all men, we cannot omit a notice of his character and sentiments. He was a native of Geneva, and was held in the highest esteem in the literary world as a metaphysician, philosopher, and explorer of nature. His moral character was without blemish. In 1770 he published at Neufchatel his "Philosophical and Critical Inquiries concerning Christianity." In this, his only theological work, he rather glances at the doctrine of universal happiness than defends it. In Book i. Chap. ii. he says, "I am a sensitive and intelligent being; the desire of existing agreeably is inherent in the nature of every sensitive and intelligent being, and it is this desire which constitutes self-love. Self-love, therefore, does not differ from the love of happiness. I cannot but perceive that the love of happiness is the universal principle of my actions. Happiness, therefore, is the great end of my being. I did not make myself; I did not give to myself this universal principle of action. The author of my existence who has placed within me this powerful principle, has then created me for

[4] Histoire des Sect. Relig. par M. Gregoire, T. ii. 201.

happiness." Again. "Because I love myself, and I cannot but desire to be happy, I cannot but desire also the continuance of my existence. I perceive these same desires in all my fellow creatures; and if some seem to wish for the cessation of this being, it is rather a change in their being than the annihilation of it, which they desire." "My reason furnishes me with the best proofs of the supreme *intelligence* of the author of my existence. It deduces very fairly from that intelligence the supreme *wisdom* of that great Being. His *goodness* will be that same wisdom employed in procuring the greatest happiness of every sentient and every intelligent being. This adorable wisdom having introduced into its place the system of human nature, must undoubtedly have willed every thing that could contribute to the greatest perfection of that system." In Book v. Chap. i. we have the following: "Since men continually and spontaneously expose themselves, for a momentary pleasure, to years of misery and pain, the threats denounced by this Religion, (Revealed Religion) cannot be too forcible; and it will be suitable to the spirit of the whole system, to set forth the pains of the wicked as *eternal*, or rather of an *indefinite* duration. But in exhibiting to man this hideous gulf, the *doctrine* of *life* will, at the same time, magnify the compassion of the *merciful Father* of *man*, and point out, on the brink of the precipice, a gracious and benevolent hand, which, *if in the Supreme Being*, JUSTICE *be* GOODNESS *guided by wisdom*; if ALMIGHTY

BENEVOLENCE *essentially require the improvement of* ALL *intelligent and sensitive beings; if punishments can be* the *natural means of leading* to *perfection; if they are, in the moral economy, what remedies are in the natural; if* "*there be more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth:*" "*if there be much love where much has been forgiven:*" *My heart leaps for joy—I am lost in admiration—what a wonderful chain of doctrines! The compassion of the* "ONLY GOOD" *is infinite—*"*he desireth not the death of a sinner; but that he should turn from his wickedness and live*"—*He* DESIRETH!—*and shall* HE *desire in vain?*" Again, same Book, Chap. vi. "In conformity to these views, so far excelling all human views, the *Messenger* of the *Most High*, was to be born of a Virgin, in an obscure family, but descended from illustrious ancestors, to whom the most magnificent promises had been made by ancient prediction. This birth was to be proclaimed to Shepherds; and the celestial heralds commissioned to celebrate by their hymns the glad tidings, were to instruct these Shepherds in the object and the extent of the mission of Christ—on earth peace, good will towards men—GOOD WILL—not towards one single elected nation, but towards *all the nations of the world.* GOOD WILL—not to one single generation; but to every generation *past* and *to come;* the Benevolence of the BEST and GREATEST of Beings *comprehends all mankind,* BECAUSE HE IS THE FATHER OF ALL."

V. Thus did Universalism find advocates in Switzerland. But it would swell this work far beyond the limits we have prescribed ourselves, to mention

every instance in which the doctrine of eternal punishment was disputed. There is one case, however, we must not pass over. Ferdinand Oliver Petitpierre occupies too high a station as a defender of Universalism, and suffered too much on account of his belief in this doctrine, to be passed over with a brief notice. He was minister of Chaux-de-Fonds, a village in Switzerland, in the Canton of Neufchatel, and nine miles N.N.W. from the capital, bearing the same name. In 1707 this Canton was acknowledged as belonging to the King of Prussia, under whose sovereignty it remained until 1807, when, by the treaty of Tilsit, it was ceded to France; but in 1814 it was restored to Prussia.

As early as 1770, Petitpierre must, we think, have been known as a Universalist. The ingenuousness of his disposition would not permit him to adopt that cowardly policy which induces many to conceal their sentiments from the world; and he avowed, therefore, to his congregation and the public, his fixed belief in the eventual salvation of all mankind. His church complained to the King of Prussia as Lord of the principality of Neufchatel,[5] and desired the removal of their hitherto highly respected pastor. The Consistory also adopted measures against him; and at length the King, far from being convinced of the justice of the measure, but worn out by incessant importunity, deposed

[5] Erskine's Sketches of Church Hist. i. 237. Erskine derived his information from German Literary Journals, 1776—1788.

him; and wrote the church, that since their articles of faith would have it so, he could not hinder the people of Neufchatel from being eternally damned.[6]

In 1786, Petitpierre published in French, at Hamburg, his principal Universalist work, entitled "The plan of God with respect to man," more generally known in England and America under the title of "Thoughts on Divine Goodness."[7] Shortly after this he visited London, where he resided for many years, enjoying the friendship of all with whom he became acquainted; and no writer who has mentioned him, either for the purpose of approving or condemning his writings, has spoken of him but in terms of the highest respect.

The work of which we have spoken is one of the most pleasing defences of Universal Salvation which has ever been published. The author commences by maintaining, that to make mankind happy is the primary object of God's moral government. His will is to save them, and the means by which he effects their salvation is by bringing them to the knowledge of the truth. He has revealed himself to the understanding of man, in nature and in revelation. These it is our duty to study, the

[6] The Abbe Gregoire says, "concerning Petitpierre, the measure adopted by the Consistory of Neufchatel against him is well known, as well as the impious pleasantries of the King of Prussia on that subject." Histoire des Sect. Relig. ii. 57.

[7] The original title of the work was as follows: "Le Plan de Dieu envers les Hommes tel qu'il l'a manifeste dans la Nature et la Grace." Hamburg, 1786, 8vo.

latter with particular caution; without prejudice, and with a sincere desire to know what is truth. "Here I solemnly protest," says the author, "in the presence of the Almighty, that in reading and meditating on his word, to know his will and designs towards us, I have with sincerity and in his fear, sought truth in its purity, with simplicity of heart, without hope or fear of its agreeing or disagreeing with that catechism which I was taught to receive in my youth, without sufficient examination; well convinced, that if such or such opinions were true, I should find them confirmed in Scripture; if false, they would not become true by my obstinately persisting to believe them without examination; so that I had nothing to lose, or rather I had every thing to gain, by bringing them sincerely to this test; since the only thing of importance to me was to fly from error, and to come at the knowledge of the truth." In the body of the work he treats of the infinite goodness of God, its nature, design, duration and effects: the proofs of the divine goodness are deduced first, from his design in the creation of man, which must have been benevolent, and second, from the testimonies of the sacred writers, who represent God to be kind, and his love to be stronger than that of the fondest earthly parent. The consequences which may be deduced from the infinite goodness are very fully considered. He maintains it is utterly impossible that there should be any thing in the divine mind opposed to this goodness; his holiness, his justice,

his authority, his majesty, his glory, spring up out of his goodness, and are but branches of it. Holiness is consistent with the love of God to sinners, inasmuch as he loves them as his creatures, but hates their iniquity, and he will therefore purge it from them, and make them clean; and all those Scriptures in which the sacred writers speak of God's hating man, should be interpreted agreeably with this supposition. The justice of God is that immutable will to dispense to every one what best corresponds to his moral state. Men are sinners, and God punishes them with severity; but this severity is dictated by goodness, and all the punishments God inflicts are declared to be for the sinner's good: how certain then that justice, the principle which dispenses rewards and punishments, is but a modification of goodness itself. How opposed to this is the dreadful doctrine of eternal punishment, an error which grew up out of a misconception of the meaning of the word rendered everlasting. God punishes always to reform, a fact which the author establishes with the most irresistible reasoning. Divine Justice never proceeds to extreme rigor in punishing, until every gentler means has been exhausted without effect; it never employs that rigor only so much and so long as shall be necessary to the destruction of sin, and the conversion of the sinner; and when the sinner is sincerely penitent, God will graciously forgive. These being the principles on which all punishments are administered, the eternal duration of suffering

is absolutely impossible, a position the author establishes by a great variety of texts arranged in several classes. The first class is composed of those in which the sacred writers, comparing the severity of God with his favor, represent the former to be temporary, but the latter to be without end; the second, those in which he declares he will not always chide; and the third, those which assert that he is our creator, and that he will not desert the work of his hands; again, he confirms it by those which assert the universal destination of men to holiness and happiness; and lastly by a passage, invariably produced for an opposite purpose, viz. "*these shall go away into everlasting punishment*," in which the word rendered punishment, he maintains, quoting the authority of Wittenbach and Grotius, signifies a remedial, corrective discipline. The infinite authority of God is entirely founded upon his goodness. The erroneous supposition that God has a right from his mere authority to reprobate men to eternal pain, is shown to be unfounded; and it is maintained that God's authority is the right to confer happiness in his own way. As to the majesty and glory of God, it is shown that goodness gives them all their lustre, as there can be no perfections of the divine character more nearly allied to goodness than they. Thus the author proves that "all the sublime perfections of God as they exist in him, and in the manner they are displayed to his creatures, far from containing any contradiction or opposition to each oth-

er, are in a constant and beautiful harmony; and admirably conspire to spread perfection and happiness throughout the universe."

Another consequence of the infinity of divine goodness is, that *every act* of God must be an act of infinite goodness: even the permission of what we call evil cannot be exempted from this construction. And the author contends that each individual may say, "every event that has befallen me, from the first moment of my existence to the present, as well as whatever will befal me throughout all eternity, is the greatest possible good that the infinite bounty of my Creator can bestow." In fact, he excludes real evil from the universe, and maintains that nothing is evil while connected with the end God designs to promote thereby. Eternal punishment is real evil, an infinite evil, which every thing conspires to exclude from the plan of God. This most excellent treatise is closed with a survey of the practical consequences which flow from such a view of the divine plan: it inspires the heart with joy; creates within us a love of God, a reconciliation to his will, a desire to serve and obey him; and, in fine, all religion is based upon it; and every system opposed to goodness is false and pernicious in the highest degree. The doctrine of a limited future punishment is admitted, though not particularly defended.

VII. We must include in the number of the Swiss Universalists, the renowned and amiable, John Gasper Christian Lavater, known generally as the

principal defender of the science of Physiognomy. His works on this subject have been translated into all the languages in Europe. As a scholar and divine he occupied the highest rank, filling his office as pastor of the church of St. Peter's at Zurich with the greatest honor to himself, and acquiring an imperishable fame by his eloquent discourses and exemplary life. He died in 1801, of a wound received from a French soldier, when Zurich was stormed by the troops under Massena.

The doctrine of Universalism was a sentiment which this eminent philanthropist embraced with all the native fervor of his heart. In one of his works, he breaks out in the following ardent expression of his views: "The Creator cannot hate his creature: and so long as the damned remain creatures, so long God is their Creator. God is love forever and ever. He is not gracious in time and cruel through eternity. He cannot say in time, "I have no pleasure in the death of the sinner, but that he repent and live"; and yet in eternity punish without aiming at their reformation. Ascribe not to God, what in a human judge all would account a defect in wisdom and goodness, the punishing for the sake of punishing. It is enough, my Creator, thou art Love. Love seeketh not her own; thou seekest the happiness of all, and shouldst thou not then find what thou seekest? Shouldst thou not be able to do what thou willest?"[8]

[8] Erskine's Sketches of Church History.

"My prayers," said he, "were comprehensive. My family, my friends, my fellow-citizens, my enemies; all christians, all men were included in them. I flew to the most distant seas. I penetrated into the deepest mines and dungeons. I embraced in my heart all that is called man; present and future times and nations; the dead, the damned, yea Satan himself: I presented them all to God, with the warmest wishes that he would have mercy on them all."[9]

PART IV.

History of Universalism in France.

I. France has always been a Catholic country, and comparatively speaking, but small means for the introduction of Protestant sentiments have existed in that kingdom. We are not to expect, therefore, to find very frequent instances of the prevalence of Universalism. The following will show the traces we have discovered.

II. The earliest defender of Universalism in this country of whom we have read, is Thomas Cuppe. He was curate of Bois, in the diocese of Saintes,[0] and is said to have been an eminently learned, pious and dignified divine.[1] He wrote a work, which was published we believe after his death, entitled "*Le Ceil ouvert a tous les Hommes*," or "Heaven open

[9] Adam's Religious World Displayed, iii. 381, note in loc.
[0] Histoire des Sect. Relig. T. i. p. 78, 79.
[1] Month. Rep.

to all men." From what we have been able to learn of the author, we perceive that he represented the work of salvation as going on without the assistance of human agency. He held to different degrees of bliss in the world to come; but rejected the notion of future punishment in every sense, except as it might consist in a diminution of reward; and maintained that we ought to be afraid of sin, because it deprives us of superabundant grace, and renders us liable to temporal punishments. The first edition of the work was printed as early as 1745.

III. James Necker, the great financier, and prime minister of France, was a Universalist. A native of Geneva, where he spent both the morning and the evening of his days, we are at a loss whether we ought not to have classed him among the Swiss defenders of the salvation of all men. He was a member of the council of two hundred at Geneva, was sent afterward as ambassador from the Republic to France, where he held the office of syndic to the East India Company; in 1775 was made director to the royal treasury, and was twice raised, though a foreigner, to the high station of first minister. All who knew him bear witness to his fidelity, his piety, and the respect he entertained for religion; and his virtues appear to shine with the greater splendor, when contrasted with the loose principles and immoral lives of many of his contemporaries. The strongest proof of the benevolence of his heart, is found in the striking abhorrence with which he regarded the doctrine of eternal punish-

ment. He exclaimed, as with horror, "Eternal punishment! Power Almighty, can they who entertain such an idea know thee? Eternal fire for those miserable creatures who have to resist the seductions of error and the storms of the passions! Eternal fire for those miserable creatures who have so many combats to sustain, and are armed with such feeble weapons! Power Almighty, thy goodness preceded our birth, it still subsists, it will subsist after we are cut off by the hand of death."[2]

IV. A later French Universalist bore the name of Chais de Sourcesol. He held an office in the seminary of St. Supplice. He published, in 1800, at Avignon, where he then resided, *Le Livre des Manifestes*, two small volumes, since reprinted at Paris. In the year 1800, there appeared at Paris the supplement to this work, entitled *La Clef des Oracles divins*. In this the author opposes the law of celibacy, of confession, the veneration of relics, the worship of images, and the celebration of the mass. These two works have been followed by *l'Evangile Eternel*, in which he maintains that the justice of God consists in nothing but in regulating his compassion by the misery of his creatures, and he treats as absurd, the eternal duration of punishment. Lastly, there appeared *Mandement du Ciel aux Eglises egarees, complement du Livre des Manifestes.* Here he opposes again the Romish Church, the

2 "Memoirs of the private life of my Father, by the Baroness de Stael Holstien, to which are added Miscellanies by M. Necker." p. 285. See Month. Repos. xv. p. 114, 115.

worship of relics and of images, the invocation of Saints, the eternity of pains, the celibacy of the clergy, and the observation of lent. This author, it is said, afterward removed to America.[3]

PART V.

History of Universalism in Prussia.

Paul Jeremiah Bitaube, published a work at Berlin, in 1763, entitled, *Examen de la Confession de Foi Vaicaire Savoyard.* In this production he insinuated the doctrine of Universalism; and he is well known to have been doubtful on the subject of eternal punishment. He was a pensioner of Frederick II. and held a place in Berlin Academy. His works, were a French translation of Homer; Joseph, and Les Bataves, poems; De l'Influence des Belles Lettres sur la Philosophie, and Elogee de Corneille.[4]

PART VI.

History of Universalism in Italy.

The only instance we have known of the defence of Universalism in this country, occurs in the case of a work entitled *Tractatus de Omnium Rerum Restitutione*, a "Tract on the Restitution of all Things," 8vo. printed at Venice, 1592, and written by Costac-

[3] Histoire des Sect. Relig. T. ii. 21—23.
[4] See Histoire des Sect. Relig. T. i. 79. ii. 223. Month. Review, xxviii. 567, and Lempriere.

ciaro *vel* Carbo A Costiaro. Neither of this author, nor of his work, have we been able to find any account; but we judge, from the title, it was in favor of Universalism, though of this we cannot be certain.[5]

PART VII.

History of Universalism in Ireland.

I. Ireland furnishes few instances only of the prevalence of Universalism, but these are found among her most celebrated ecclesiastics. George Rust, Bishop of Dromore, claims our earliest attention. He was born, it is believed, in England, was a fellow of Christ's College in Cambridge, and was patronized by several learned men, among whom we may reckon Jeremy Taylor; by whose influence he was made dean of Connor, and afterwards was raised to the See of Dromore. Among his associates in college were Dr. Henry More and Archbishop Tillotson, of whom we have spoken; and it is highly probable that the foundation of their liberality and community of sentiment, was thus early laid. The publication in which Bishop Rust has manifested his belief in the salvation of all mankind, is his "Letter of Resolution, concerning Origen and the chief of his opinions," which, although not an open defence of Universalism, has obtained for its author the credit of hav-

[5] Watts' Bibliotheca.

ing favored that doctrine. It purports to have been written at the earnest solicitation of one of his friends, without any expectation of its being published, and is a statement of Origen's opinions, with the arguments by which he maintained them, and an account of the spirit and temper of his opponents, and the reasons they alleged against his sentiments. These the Bishop classes under six heads. 1. Origen's views of the Holy Trinity, among the hypostases whereof it is said he admitted an inequality. 2. The pre-existence of human souls. 3. That mankind were clothed with terrestrial bodies, and placed on this earth, as a punishment for sins committed in a pre-existent state. 4. That the mystery of the resurrection is, that men will be clothed with heavenly or etherial bodies. 5. That after long periods of time, the damned shall be delivered from their torments, and try their fortunes again in such regions of the world, as their nature fits them for. 6. That the earth, after its conflagration, shall become habitable again, and be the mansion of men and other animals, and this in eternal vicissitudes. The intelligent reader of the Bishop's letter will perceive, that no person who did not hold the views of Origen concerning the final salvation of all men, could have stated his opinion with so much warmth, and repelled the objections to it with such spirit and success; and the author certainly, if he meant to disguise his sentiments, was constrained by his feelings to speak with sufficient freedom to convict him of being the

ardent defender rather than the mere annotator of Origen's sentiments. We are indeed in an error, if this letter was not designed principally and primarily as a defence of the doctrine of Universal Restitution, which its author, on account of the station he held, was reluctant to acknowledge as his real object; and though this production was at first anonymous, he takes care to guard against the charge of heresy by showing, that what the moderns regard as Origen's distinguishing tenet, viz. Universal Restitution, is tolerated in the thirty-nine Articles of the English Church.

From the following extracts may be seen the manner in which Bishop Rust defends Universalism.

"I now come to the Father's fifth opinion, which is this, that after long periods of time the damned shall be delivered from their torments, and try their fortunes again in such regions of the world as their nature and present disposition fits them for. There are in some men's minds wonderful high reaches at great and unusual objects. That disposition of soul whence such extraordinary efforts proceed, you may not improperly call the magnificence of the intellect, which often hath something of temerity in it, as the moral virtue of that name not seldom hath some touch of ambition. But as we are very favorable to this, and apt to pardon its smaller extravagancies for the sake of those high designs and eminent works to which they adhere; so by the same reason and justice ought that other to be can-

didly sentenced by us, when it seems to slip, because of those raised and important discoveries it makes, where it lights right and happily, especially where it seems to have been betrayed by a forward and pious endeavor of doing honor to God. Which is Origen's case here; of whom his greatest adversaries cannot in reason but confess, that the error they conceive him fallen into in this opinion, proceeded from his over great solicitude of rendering the ways of providence clear, and righteous, and benign. Yet this, as strange as it looks, has its probabilities too as well as the former. For he looked upon God as making all things for their good and benefit, with this gracious design, that they might be happy according to their place and order in the infinite orb of Beings."

And afterwards we read—"That Eternal Mind, therefore, making all things out of a principle of infinite love, and for the good and happiness of the things themselves, and seeing what he had made, and how he had made them, and what was likely to be the lot of some of them, from the necessary imperfectness of their natures, if their future illhap was likely to be infinitely more sharp and dolorous, than all the good they should enjoy from him, till that calamity befel them grateful and pleasant; his great compassion certainly would have persuaded him quickly to annihilate them; or rather his wisdom would have judged it more decorous never to have made them. But we see such mutable creatures made, and hear nothing of their anni-

hilation—therefore we may be assured, there are such reserves in his most wise and gracious providence, as will both vindicate his sovereign goodness and wisdom from all just disparagement, and take such course with, and so dispose of all his creatures, as they shall never be but in such a condition, which, all things considered, will be more eligible than never to have been."

Again, speaking of hell torments, he adds, "A sad and pitiable state, and torture insufferable! But no doubt as just as great. Just, I say, not only according to the estimation of modern theology, (which, from an excess of compliment to the justice of God, becomes almost as rude and troublesome as the ass in the fable, who did not fawn upon but invade his master; and which tragically pronounces, that the least peccadillo highly deserves the greatest punishment conceivable) but also in the compute and judgment of that all righteous mind, which judges and orders all things by the living law of equity. But what, though it be so great and just: is it therefore so different from the reason of all other punishments inflicted by God or man, that there is nothing in it of that end for which they were inflicted? They are curative for the emendation of the party suffering; but this, if it be eternal in the scholastic sense of the word, leaves no place for the bettering of the sufferers, who are never to get out of this inexplicable labyrinth of woe and misery."

"Now to think these miserable souls are so far amiss, as to be beyond the power of all redress and restitution, is to suppose God made some of his creatures very untowardly; and that where he pronounced them all very good, he looked only upon their primitive state; for, certainly, if he had cast his eyes to all possible conditions they might afterwards fall into, and seen this never-to-be-ended doom of intolerable pain and anguish of body and mind, the infinite compassionateness of his blessed nature would scarcely have given so cheerful an approbation to the works of his hands. But then, to think they are not beyond the power of redress and recovery, and that that great punishment they shall undergo in the end of this world may contribute thereunto, and yet to imagine they shall, for all this their disposition, be still kept in it forever and ever, is to fix so harsh a note upon the mercy and equity of the righteous judge of all the world, that the same temper in a man we should execrate and abominate."

And that the damned are in a probability and even in a way of being bettered or disposed for grace, this learned Bishop proceeds to show from the Father, viz. 'That though the divine life is extinguished in them, their reason and consideration remains, and that their brutish desires being slacked by the tormenting pains, and the ideas of their joys in sin consumed or become disgustful to them, any offer of release would be welcome to them.' And then he adds, 'What is it then that should

make the merciful governor of heaven and earth, and hell too, the compassionate father of spirits, either forcibly to keep off and prevent this natural course of things, or which is worse, suffer those offers or preparations which it induces for the bettering the present condition of so great and considerable a part of his creation, and for the putting of them into a way of return to what he at first made them to come to nought? So that whithersoever we look, whether to the gracious providence of God, or the necessity of the nature of things, we find some probable hope, that the punishment of the damned, as it implies the sense of pain, shall not be eternal in the highest sense of the word. But whether their release be by any change wrought in the disposition of their spirits, but without death; or whether by an escape, as it were, by dying to the body so tortured; there is no doubt to be made, but that both ways they may come into play again, and try their fortunes once more in such regions of the world as Providence judges fit for them."[6]

II. A work appeared in Dublin, in 1748, entitled An Essay on the Felicity of the Life to Come, by C. L. de Villette, minister of the French Church of St. Patrick in that city. It was an 8vo. of four hundred and forty pages, and was conducted by way of dialogue. In the latter part, the question concerning eternal punishment is introduced, the negative of which this author defends. Whether

[6] See a work entitled the Phœnix, vol. i. p. 1.

he did not believe in annihilation, is a question to which we can give no answer. "There is" said he, "much reason to believe, that during the two or three first ages of christianity, the annihilation of the impenitently wicked was the generally received doctrine. They went even further than this. Every body knows that the great Origen admitted the restitution of the damned, without excepting the Devil. It has happened in more than one instance, that the errors of the Fathers have been received, while we have rejected their sound doctrines."[7]

III. The liberal principles of Archbishop Newcome are well known; and the station he filled as primate of Ireland, is a proof of the esteem with which he was regarded. His works, which were all theological, manifest his great learning, and particularly his extensive Biblical literature. The sentiments of this great man with regard to the punishment of the wicked, were widely different from what would be considered in this country sound orthodoxy, although we cannot pronounce with confidence that he was a Universalist. At one part of his life he seems to have believed in annihilation; but in the translation of the New Testament, his most elaborate work, which received his maturest thoughts, and which was not published until after his death, he appears to have favored a different opinion. See his comment on Ephesians i. 9, 10. "Having made known unto us the mystery of his will, accord-

[7] Bibliotheque Raisonnee pour les mois d'Octobre, Novembre and Decembre, 1748.

ing to his good pleasure which he purposed in himself, concerning the dispensation of the fulness of times, that he would gather together to himself in one *all things* through Christ, which are in heaven and which are on earth, even in him." To this he adds, "Some think that the Greek word implies the idea of a reunion under one head; and it is true that the restoration of the human race to the knowledge and worship of God was one design of christianity;" and he interprets the phrase *all* things to signify "all persons, all intelligent beings." The expression *which are in heaven, and which are on earth*, he interprets to mean, "not only angels, but all mankind whether Jews or Gentiles." Of Colossians i. 20, in which the apostle declares that God will reconcile *all things* to himself, he adds that the phrase *all things* signifies "all intelligent creatures." We confess that we do not consider this certain proof that he was a Universalist.[8]

IV. In Ireland there is at least one religious Society professing Universalism. It is established in Colerain; and, in 1824, the Rev. James Ewing presided over it as elder, and Rev. George Houston, as assistant speaker. Mr. Ewing with several friends, was excommunicated from a Baptist church for sentiments supposed to be erroneous, concerning the freedom of the will, and the Godhead dwelling in Christ. They set up a separate worship, but as yet were not Universalists. Some

[8] See his translation of the New Testament.

years after this, Mr. Houston, who had been connected with the Methodists, left them with many other members, in consequence of a difference of views with respect to the administration of the sacrament. He soon joined the society in connexion with Mr. Ewing. On reading Evans' Sketch of the denominations in the Christian World, he was very forcibly and favorably struck with the system of the Universalists as there laid down, but he feared to embrace it. Shortly after Ramsay's Travels of Cyrus fell into his hands, and the reasonings of Eleazer were too cogent for him to reject. He now began anew, as it were, to search the Scriptures, and found them fraught with the doctrine, which he from time to time stated in his discourses to the church. To them it appeared strange at first, but they had learned to examine before they rejected, and in a short time the elder and his little band, believed the joyful tidings.

This society remained unknown to the Universalists in England and Scotland, until the year 1823, when, by accident, they became acquainted with each other, and mutual visits were interchanged between the pastor of the Universalist Society in Glasgow, and of that in Colerain. The latter joined the British Connexion of Universalists, and since, we believe, a correspondence has been kept up between them.[9]

[9] See the Gospel Communicator, published by Rev. Mr. Worrall, of Glasgow, vol. ii. 85. iii. 279—283.

PART VIII.

History of Universalism in Scotland.

I. One of the earliest Universalists of whom we find a trace in Scotland, was Duncan Forbes, Lord President of the Court of Sessions. He studied at Edinburgh, Utrecht and Paris, returned to Scotland and practised as an Advocate, was made member of Parliament, afterward Lord Advocate, and finally was raised to the high office already mentioned. He was a Hebrew scholar, and wrote several theological works. In his treatise entitled "Reflections on the sources of Infidelity," is the following observation in regard to future punishment and its duration. Speaking of the infidel's objection to revelation, from the perpetuity of punishment, he says, "here again the incomprehensible, the infinitely perfect being, is measured by the span of the low, blind, grovelling creature that makes the objection; who, because he cannot comprehend why this justice is suited to the divine nature, concludes at once, that the doctrine is impossible, and therefore false; and in consequence rejects the revelation *which is said to assert it*, without giving himself the trouble to examine the evidence that supports that revelation, or even to inquire whether the matter that thus shocks him, *is really* revealed. A *careful inquiry* might possibly satisfy him, that the perpetuity of punishment is not absolutely affirm-

ed, and that no more is necessarily to be infered from revelation, than that the misery of the damned is to endure for ages." This writer was a Hutchinsonian, and his work is filled with many curious modes of reasoning borrowed from that school. He was a strong advocate for the trinity, original sin, the atonement, &c. but throughout a work of three hundred and eight pages, he never hinted at the idea, save in the passage quoted, of an unending hell. It may rather be said that he allowed than defended the doctrine of Universalism.

II. The individual who next claims our attention here, is James Purves, probably the first public preacher of Universalism in Scotland. He was born in 1734, of poor parents, and early in life joined a society of dissenters in Berwickshire. As he had manifested a love of literature, when this society with others of a similar faith, desired to educate some person to become a public defender of their views, Mr. Purves was selected. This was in 1769. He repaired to Glasgow, where he spent a short time, and made some proficiency in the study of Greek and Hebrew. In 1771, the society to which he belonged published an abstract of its principles, drawn up by him, which brought him into a controversy with some ministers of the reformed presbytery. Several members of these societies removing to Edinburgh, Mr. Purves was invited there to be their minister, an office which he filled until his death, in 1795. As a preacher he did not shine; but for solidity of argument, and

propriety of arrangement, he was justly esteemed. In controversy he was calm and deliberate: no opposition or even insult ever ruffled his temper. A resignation to the will of God, even in the most trying scenes of life, supported him; and his strong faith in the doctrine of the resurrection enabled him, triumphant over death, to resign all terrestrial things, on February 15th, 1795, in the 61st year of his age. He died deeply lamented both by his society, and even his opponents.[o]

He was the author of several works, the principal of which was entitled, "An Humble Attempt to investigate and defend the Scripture doctrine concerning the Father, Son and Holy Spirit; to which are added observations concerning the mediation of Jesus Christ, in the various dispensations of God the Father, and the final issue of his administration. With an Appendix, &c." Mr. Purves was a Unitarian Universalist. In this work he discussed the attributes and works which properly belong to God, as distinguished from those which properly belong to Christ, and to the Holy Ghost. The Father is supreme, self-existent and independent: the Son is a proper distinct person, the image of the Father, and the first-born of his creation: the Holy Spirit is not a person, a creature, but the power of God, with which Jesus was anointed, which dwelt in him without measure, and by which he performed all his wonderful works. A part of this work is

[o] Month. Repos. xv. 77—80.

devoted to the defence of the doctrine of Universalism. God has shown himself good to man, without respect of persons; and this goodness will be manifested in all his future dispensations. The final happiness of all men may be deduced from the revealed perfections of God, the relation he sustains to man, his purpose concerning him, the design of the mediatory administration, the efficacy of his word, the superabundance of grace above sin, the destruction of death, and the inheriting of all things by Jesus Christ. The objections to Universalism are answered as they have been raised from the word *aionion* being applied to punishment, from the sin against the Holy Ghost, the remark of the Saviour concerning Judas, the phrase unquenchable fire, the application of the same word to the happiness of the just, and the misery of the unjust, and from the alleged tendency of Universalism to immorality. This is a work of perfect candor, interspersed with sound criticisms, and manifests throughout the author's calm and deliberate disposition.[1]

III. The Universalist Society in Edinburgh, we believe, was never large. Mr. Purves, although a good writer, was not an orator; this, with his humble mein, and disposition for retirement, disqualified him as a popular preacher, calculated to draw a large congregation. The Society continued in the profession and maintenance of their faith af-

[1] The edition of this work which we have seen, is the second, published in 1784, by Mr. Purves, at Edinburgh.

ter his death. It is now probably known in connexion with the Unitarians.[2]

IV. In about five years after the death of Mr. Purves, another champion arose to embrace the doctrine of Universalism in Scotland, and who, to his death, remained an ardent defender of this sentiment. We refer to Niel Douglass. He was a native of the highlands of Scotland, and was once pastor of the Relief Church in Dundee. He embraced Universalism in the year 1801, and commenced preaching it in Greenock, where he suffered many persecutions. Possessed of a bold and innovating spirit, inspired at the same time with a lively patriotism and benevolence, he did not hesitate to cry aloud against the political evils of the times; and on one occasion he was indicted for sedition, but on trial was acquitted. This was in 1817. After spending a few years in Greenock as a preacher of Universalism, Mr. Douglass removed to Glasgow, as a wider field for usefulness, under the condition that he should administer occasionally to the people in the former place. Here he filled the station of a gospel minister several years, and raised up a congregation. He labored arduously in the promulgation of his sentiments, not only in Glasgow, but in different parts of the country, and in several places was successful, and formed societies of his own faith. He was the author of many works,

[2] Universalist Miscellany, v. 6.

sermons, treatises, &c. We may perhaps regard him as the Father of Universalism in Scotland.[3]

V. In the decline of Mr. Douglass' life, the Society called to his assistance in the labors of the gospel, Mr. William Worrall, who had been one of the congregation in Glasgow. This gentleman labored ardently and successfully as a preacher of Universal Restoration. He frequently made visits to different parts of Scotland, and seconded his labors in the pulpit by the use of his pen. During the few years he was permitted to spend in the ministry, he published, besides several sermons, and other tracts, three volumes of a periodical, entitled the Gospel Communicator, commenced in August, 1823, and continued, with a little intermission, until 1827; and which was probably the only Universalist periodical ever published in that country. During his ministry, Mr. Douglass deceased, on the 9th of January, 1823, after which Mr. Worrall lived to serve the congregation but two or three years, and

3 This account of Mr. Douglass has been picked up from various sources, principally from his preface to Mr. Winchester's famous sermon, entitled the "Outcasts Comforted," one or two editions of which Mr. D. published. His works, so far as we have become acquainted with them, were, The Duty of Pastors concerning the Lord's Supper, a Synod Sermon, with a long dialogue on frequent Communion; A Critical Examination of 1 Cor. xv. 24, 28; An Answer to Rev. Alexander Brown's Letters in defence of Endless Misery; Leonidas, or the invasion of Greece, by Xerxes; Probable consequences of a successful Invasion, in reference to political events; a Version of the Psalms, with copious notes; two Lectures delivered in Paisley, December, 1805, on Universalism, with an appendix, defending the doctrine against a recent attack; Strictures on the Author's Trial; Antidote against Deism, &c. &c. It is impossible for us to arrange these in the order of time in which they were published.

was removed suddenly, by a violent fever, in March, 1828, leaving an afflicted people to mourn his loss. Mr. James Edmands, a Universalist preacher from London, is his successor, as pastor of the Glasgow congregation.[4]

VI. The labors of such men as Douglass and Worrall, could not be unavailing. The Society in Glasgow increased in numbers, and several congregations were formed in other places. At the present day there are five regularly constituted societies, besides that in the city, in Greenock, Johnstone, Paisley, Ayr and Falkirk. These keep up constant weekly meetings, though they have no settled preachers, some one of the members officiating, and the preacher in Glasgow making occasional visits to these places. The churches in this country have held an annual Conference, for mutual advice and co-operation, at which a report is made of the progress of the cause they espouse, and of the interesting events which have occurred during the past year. Those who are known here by the name of Universalists, hold to the Deity of Jesus Christ, which causes them to maintain a distinction between themselves and the Unitarians; the preachers of these two classes do not exchange public services, nor have their congregations any connexion.

[4] My authorities in relation to the Sketch of Mr. Worrall's labors are the Gospel Communicator, and a letter from Mr. Edmands, his successor.

VII. The Unitarian churches in Scotland, without exception, we believe, hold to the doctrine of Universal Restoration, which they zealously maintain. They are not many in number, and would not greatly exceed the Universalists in this respect. Dr. T. Southwood Smith, formerly minister of the Unitarian church in Edinburgh, wrote one of the most pleasing treatises ever published in confirmation of the fact, that every thing is under the direction of infinite wisdom and goodness, and will finally terminate in the universal happiness of the human race. This work was first printed in Glasgow, in 1816, has since been several times republished, and has received the decided approbation of the Unitarians as a body. The author considers 1st. The Government of God. 2d. The evidence in favor of Universalism, aside from that furnished by the express declarations of Scripture. 3d. The objections commonly urged against the doctrine; and 4th. The Scriptural evidence in favor of it. The Rev. George Harris, editor of the Christian Pioneer, printed at Glasgow, is a decided believer in Universal Restitution, and several years ago, delivered in Liverpool a course of lectures, in which one or two discourses were devoted particularly to the defence of that sentiment.[5]

5 There is one fact connected with this sketch of the history of Universalism in Scotland, which is of too much importance to be passed over. The celebrated Dr. McKnight, of Edinburgh, has let fall an expression in one of his works which brings him under the imputation of having a very weak faith in the doctrine of endless misery. When arguing for the perpetuity of future misery, he says, "At the same

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN ENGLAND CONTINUED.

I. At the close of the fourth chapter we had brought the History of Universalism in England, up to the middle of the 18th century. Here we availed ourselves of the opportunity to introduce an account of the prevalence of that doctrine in other countries, so far as we had been able to trace it; and having, in the last chapter, finished what we had to say on that part of the subject, we resume again the History as it relates to England.

II. We have now approached a period in which Universalism prevailed to a very great extent, finding patrons among the obscure and the well known, the unlearned and the literati; indeed some of almost every sect seem to have united their efforts to illustrate and defend this cheering doctrine. On the one hand we see the ardent believer, whose

time, I must be so candid as to acknowledge, that the use of the terms *eternal*, *everlasting*, *forever*, in other passages of Scripture, shows that they who understand these words in a limited sense when applied to punishment, put no forced interpretation on them. Allowing that eternal punishments are really meant in the threatenings of the gospel, no man can deny that God has it still in his power to mitigate and modify his threatenings to what degree infinite wisdom sees fit." Truth of the Gospel History, p. 38. Universalist Theolog. Mag. vi. 301.

bosom is warmed into action by his faith, but whose timidity renders him unable to meet the anticipated odium, sending forth his anonymous publications to convince others of the truth of doctrine he himself has not the courage to avow; on the other we see the bolder and more successful defender, adding to the force of his arguments the authority of his learning, of his office, and of his name: here the divine, with gravity, with moderation, and with great firmness, asserts the reality of God's universal love and the consequent salvation of all men, and enforces from such doctrines the most fervent piety to God, and the most unrestricted benevolence to man; there the man of letters, the pride and accomplishment of his age, lends the vivacity of his genius, the strength of his attainments, and the elegance of his diction, to the illustration and support of the same sentiment: at one time our attention is arrested by the visionary who, with a fervid imagination and transported heart, seizes the enrapturing theme, and expatiates till he is lost in the delirium of joy; at another we see the cold philosopher, who, commencing the examination of the doctrine with doubt, at last arrives at faith and certainty; we see his steady soul lifted up from the world by the influences of such a faith; he lives above terrestrial things in a higher sphere; and his incontrovertible arguments, like the fixed stars, shed their light upon the dark world below. Piety, benevolence, philosophy, wit and literature, all assisted, during this period, in the defence of Univer-

alism. Some of the greatest men in the establish-ed church, united their labors with those equally great among the dissenters. Of one sect at least, although not bearing the name of Universalists, it became a principal tenet, and was defended by the most of its ablest men. Such is a general view of the character and circumstances of those who defended Universalism during this period; and it fully sustains the following passage from the pen of the editor of the Analytical Review: "The doctrine of the final happiness of mankind, which presents the prospect of the termination of all evil, and of a period in which the deep shades of misery and guilt which have so long enveloped the universe, shall be forever dispelled, is so pleasing a speculation to a benevolent mind, that we do not wonder it meets with *so many* advocates. From the earliest period we doubt not the belief of it has been secretly entertained by many, who in the face of opposition and danger, had not resolution to avow it. Now, however, it has broke through *every* restraint, and walks abroad in *every* form that is adapted to convince the philosophic, to rouse the unthinking, and to melt the tender."[6]

III. To arrange a mass of materials possessing so great a variety, has been found no easy task. We must, in some respects, relinquish the regular order of time, preserving it so far as it is consistent with the arrangement of the subjects now before

[6] Analytical Review, Dec. 1788, vol. ii. 450.

us into four general heads, viz. 1. The anonymous defenders of Universalism. 2. Those who may be said to have laid down the principles whence it flows, and who have *admitted* rather than defended it. 3. Those who have directly and elaborately maintained it. And 4. The English Unitarians, nearly all of whose principal men have defended that sentiment.[7] It should be premised, however, that it will be impossible, in the limits which we have prescribed ourselves, to give of every Universalist a distinct or any detailed account; we shall select the prominent, paying principal attention to their characters, standing and works.

IV. "An Essay on the Divine Paternity, or God the Father of Men," was a work in which Universalism was defended. The author is to us utterly unknown. Having in several sections stated the true and proper relation which the Deity bears to mankind, he draws from his subject, under the form of corollaries, several speculative and practical truths, as follows: He says

"3. *The final destruction and misery of any of the offspring of God must be highly ungraieful to him.*" "His character, relation, interest and concern in mankind, absolutely forbid us to think that any are hated of him, from the first moment of their existence; or that he (the Father of mercies and God of all comfort) can behold with satisfaction and

[7] To these the Necessarians, as a fifth class, might be added, but as those who were christians, and who held to the salvation of all men, are generally included among the Unitarians, we pass them over without any further notice.

pleasure, the final miscarriage and everlasting tortures of his offspring : the dens of *lions*, and *nurseries* of *wolves* know no such cruelty as this."

"4. *If there be a possibility of preventing the final misery and destruction of any of mankind, by reclaiming them from their degeneracy, there is a sufficient reason, from the nature of that relation they bear to God, to think that he will do it.*" "We must remember that with God all things are possible. He has knowledge, wisdom and power, as well as goodness and love ; and what implies not a *contradiction*, he can effect." "As for the words *eternal* and *everlasting* in Scripture, they are well known to signify such a duration only as is proper to the subject spoken of—as the land of Canaan for an everlasting possession, the everlasting mountains, &c."

The work mentioned in the preceding chapter, *Le Ciel ouvert a tous les Hommes*,[8] was the occasion of a brief controversy about 1750. A few years before this, it had been translated and republished in England, and met with the approbation of many, particularly of a person who published the "Layman's Letter to his friend in the Country," which, in defence of the work, attempted, without success, to show that the author admitted a punishment after death. Several works appeared on both sides, evincing the interest which the public felt on the subject. A second edition of this work was published in 1766, and was recommended by the edi-

[8] That is "Heaven open to all men."

tors of the Critical Review, as "a benevolent and sensible production, well calculated to prevent the minds of weak and ignorant, though pious and well meaning persons, from being plunged into the horrors of despair, by the pernicious doctrines of some modern enthusiasts."

Simultaneously with the controversy just mentioned, appeared a work in favor of Universalism, entitled "The Great Love and Tenderness of God to his Creature Man: or the Scripture account of the Redemption, Conversion and Salvation of all mankind."[9] "I have for many years," says the author, "been of opinion, that the most terrifying and amazing doctrine of the future torments of the wicked, being strictly and properly eternal, could no where be proved from the gracious gospel of Jesus Christ, so full of the glad tidings of mercy and peace: no, nor from any one text or passage of holy writ, in its true and genuine sense. And this opinion has been greatly strengthened by a frequent searching, studying, comparing and meditating on the holy Scriptures." He was conversant also with

[9] The whole title was, "The great love and tenderness of God to his Creature Man, or the Scripture account of the redemption, conversion and salvation of all mankind. Wherein is discovered that the torments of the wicked must have an ending; that every individual of mankind is already redeemed in part; so that the rational soul or spirit of every sinner, after suffering in proportion to his deserts, will be converted, delivered out of torment, and be finally saved in a low degree: and that the whole man of the righteous, who have lived a virtuous and godly life will be sanctified wholly, both in soul and in body; will be raised a glorious body; and be abundantly saved, and rewarded at the last day, and shall not suffer pain after death." By a Searcher after Religious Truth. It was an octavo of 344 pages.

the books which had been written in favor of Universalism, particularly the second volume of the "World Unmasked," and the work of which we have just spoken, "Heaven open to all men." It seems to have been the system of this author, that salvation is distinguished in two kinds, ordinary or universal, and extraordinary, which is wrought for us by Jesus Christ our Redeemer; and that he has brought to men two sorts of grace, and two sorts of eternal life; one the ordinary or universal grace of redemption, whereby the rational spirit of every individual of mankind is already redeemed and absolutely saved; the other a grace of superabundant, or extraordinary salvation offered in the gospel, whereby the whole man may be sanctified wholly and saved both in spirit, in soul and in body, provided he carefully complies with the terms of the gospel covenant to the end of his life. The author thought this distinction necessary to a right understanding of the Holy Scriptures, and that it was, so to speak, a key to the reconciling of many passages of Scripture apparently contradictory, relating to man's redemption and salvation. Thence he drew the undoubted inference, that God had absolutely and most gloriously provided for the everlasting good of all his creatures, so that the sinner will at last be delivered out of torment and admitted to ease, while the godly will be abundantly saved and rewarded. This is his system, given in his own phrases, which perhaps some, more fortunate than ourselves, may understand. He held tenaciously

to the future punishment of those who died impenitent, which might extend to a very long duration; but eventually they would be delivered from it, and admitted, not to full and perfect bliss, but to the *lowest* mansion in the kingdom of God. Aside from the peculiarities of his system, he reasons judiciously, and with great candor examines the objections to Universalism, and clearly shows that the passages of Scripture on which the opposite doctrine has been based, have been tortured from their proper meaning. He was evidently a man of learning.

V. Among the authors who have admitted the doctrine of Universalism, and laid down the principles from which it flows, we may reckon the well known William Law, author of the Serious Call; William Duncombe, a writer of eminence; Soame Jenyns; Henry Brooke, in the Fool of Quality; Dr. Kippis; the Monthly and Critical Reviewers; the celebrated George Walker; the equally celebrated Robert Robinson; Archdeacon Paley, of the English Church; Hey, the Cambridge professor of divinity, and Letsone, the philanthropist.

VI. The opinions of William Law underwent a considerable change in the latter part of his life. At first he was not a Universalist; but afterward the views he entertained were these: "that all the attributes of the Almighty are only modifications of his love, and that when, in Scripture his wrath, vengeance, &c. are spoken of, such expressions are only used in condescension to human weakness, by

way of adapting the subject of the mysterious workings of God's providence to human capacities. He held, therefore, that God punishes no one. All evil, according to his creed, originates either from matter, or from the free will of man; and if there be suffering, it is not that God wills it, but that he permits it, (for the sake of a greater overbalance of good, that could not otherwise possibly be produced) as the necessary consequence of the existence of an inert instrument like matter, and the imperfection of creatures less pure than himself. Upon his system, all beings will finally be happy. He utterly rejected the doctrine of the Atonement, and ridiculed the supposition, that the offended justice of the One Perfect Supreme Being requires any satisfaction. His theory was, that man, by withdrawing himself from God, had lost the divine life in his soul, and that all communication between him and his maker was nearly lost. In order to remedy this, in order in some mysterious way to re-open an intercourse between the Deity and the soul of man; and finally, in order to afford the soul a more near, and, as it were, sensible perception of its maker, the Second Person in the Trinity became man. Law alleges that St. Paul, when he speaks of redemption, says, *God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.* Now, he adds, had the Almighty required an atonement, the reverse of this proposition would have been the truth, and the phrase would have been *reconciling himself to the world.*"[0]

[0] Southey's Life of Wesley, New York edition, vol. i. 216

Still more satisfactory testimony on this poin may be given in Law's own words. In a letter t a friend he says, "you tell me that you cannot help thinking with Mr. S.[1] 'that all partial systems o salvation are greatly derogatory to the goodness o God, but that you would say this to very few but myself. But, dear soul, why should you say this to me? I have, without any scruple, openly declared to all the world, that from eternity to eternity nothing can come from God but mere infinite love. In how many ways have I proved and asserted, that there neither is nor can be any wrath or partiality in God; but that every creature must have all that happiness which the infinite love and power of God can help it to." "It is my capital doctrine that God is all love, and merely a will to all goodness; that he must eternally will that to the creature which he willed at his creation." "As for the purification *of all human nature*, I fully believe it, either in this world, or some after ages. And as to that of angels, if it is possible, I am glad of it and also sure enough, that it will then come to pass."[2]

As a preacher among the dissenters, Law possessed great influence; and the doctrines he believed

[1] Stonehouse, perhaps.

[2] Law's Collection of Letters, London edition, 1762. Letter xii. p 172—175. His principal works were "Christian Perfection" a "Serious Call," works prized by the orthodox to the present da Southey says of them, "few books have ever made so many religio enthusiasts; indeed the youth who should read them without bei perilously affected, must have either a light mind, or an unusual strong one." Life of Wesley, i. 38.

were powerfully enforced by the meekness and sanctity of his life, and by his mild and inoffensive manners. Serenity, gratitude and happiness were the constant inmates of his heart; and all his conversation, his preaching, and writing, partook of the depth of his emotions. In the triumphs of faith, and universally esteemed, he died in 1761.

VII. Mr. William Duncombe, a man of letters, and a writer of considerable eminence, flourished from 1730 until his death in 1769. Among his friends and correspondents he reckoned Lord Corke and Archbishop Herring, a volume of whose sermons he edited. He was the author of a tragedy entitled Lucius Junius Brutus. One of his particular correspondents was the Rev. Samuel Say, a dissenting minister, who succeeded Dr. Calamy at Westminster. Say's mind had a strong tendency to a belief of Universalism, though he never fully embraced that sentiment. Expressing his queries and doubts to Mr. Duncombe, the latter replied, in a letter dated May 27, 1743, as follows:

"Perhaps all those natural evils, or moral obliquities, of which we so grievously complain, may be no stronger objection to the rectitude of the whole system, than hills and mountains are to the rotundity of the globe; and may answer various excellent purposes, though we are too short sighted to discover them. Vindictive justice, in the Deity, is, I own, no article in my creed. All punishment in the hands of an infinitely wise and good being, I think, must be medicinal, and what

we call chastisement." "What St. Paul speaks more directly of the reconciliation both of Jews and Gentiles to God, I am willing to understand in a more extensive sense, of the general redemption of mankind, at the consummation of all things."[3] He then quotes the following passage from Milton's Mask of Comus, as comprising, in his view, the marrow of theology.

"Against the threats
Of malice, or of sorcery, or that power
Which erring men call chance, this I hold firm,
Virtue may be assailed but never hurt,
Surpris'd by unjust force but not inthral'd;
Yea, even that which mischief meant most harm,
Shall in the happy trial prove most glory.
But evil on itself shall back recoil,
And mix no more with goodness, when at last
Gather'd like scum and settled to itself,
It shall be in eternal, restless change
Self-fed and self-consum'd,—if this fail
The pillar'd firmament is rottenness,
And earth's base built on stubble."

VIII. Nearly allied to Duncombe, in time, in feeling, and in sentiment, we may place the renowned philosopher and metaphysician, the mild and beloved moralist, Soame Jenyns. He was educated at St. John's College, and in 1741, was elected member of Parliament for Cambridge, which he represented for nearly forty years. In 1755, he was made one of the Lords of Trade, and continued so until the abolition of the board. As a writer he is to be prized for the elegance of his diction, the purity of his sentiments, and his sparkling humour. To the cause of christianity he rendered an essential ser-

[3] Hughes' Correspondence, ii. 156. Month. Repos. vii. 492.

vice by his Internal View of its evidences, a work which the highest ecclesiastics have refered to and quoted with a freedom that sufficiently shows the high estimation in which they held it. Jenyns was a Necessarian, and regarded what men generally call evil as a component part of the great system of things; and by the effects he attributed to it, he excluded *real* evil from the universe. From every thing known by this name he deduced some benevolent end, not excepting death itself, which he looked on as one of the causes of happiness to mankind. "Death, the last and most dreadful of all evils," says he, "is so far from being one, that it is the infallible cure of all others.

> To die is landing on some silent shore,
> Where billows never beat, nor tempests roar;
> Ere well we feel the friendly stroke 'tis o'er.—*Garth.*

For, abstracted from the sickness and sufferings usually attending it, it is no more than the expiration of that term of life God was pleased to bestow on us, without any claim or merit on our part. But was it an evil ever so great, it could not be remedied but by one much greater, which is by living forever; by which means our wickedness, unrestrained by the prospects of a future state, would grow so insupportable, our sufferings so intolerable by perseverance, and our pleasures so tiresome by repetition, that no being in the universe could be so completely miserable as a species of immortal men. We have therefore no reason to look upon death as an evil, or to fear it as a punishment, even without

any supposition of a future life; but if we consider it as a passage to a more perfect state, or a remove only in an eternal succession of still improving states, (for which we have the strongest reasons) it will then appear a new favor from the divine munificence; and a man must be as absurd to repine at dying, as a traveller would be, who proposed to himself a delightful tour through various unknown countries, to lament that he cannot take up his residence at the first dirty inn which he baits at on the road. The instability of human life, or the hasty changes of its successive periods, of which we so frequently complain, are no more than the necessary progress of it to this necessary conclusion; and are so far from being evils deserving these complaints, that they are the source of our greatest pleasures, as they are the source of all novelty, from which our greatest pleasures are ever derived. The continual succession of seasons in the human life, by daily presenting to us new scenes, renders it agreeable, and, like those of the year, affords us delights by their change, which the choicest of them could not give us by their continuance. In the spring of life, the gilding of the sunshine, the verdure of the fields, and the variegated paintings of the sky, are so exquisite in the eyes of infants at their first looking abroad into a new world, as nothing perhaps afterwards can equal. The heat and vigor of the succeeding summer of youth ripen for us new pleasures. The serene autumn of complete manhood feasts us with the golden har-

vests of our worldly pursuits; nor is the heavy winter of old age destitute of its peculiar comforts and enjoyments, of which the recollection and relation of those past are perhaps none of the least; and at last death opens to us a new prospect, from whence we shall probably look back upon the diversions and occupations of this world, with the same contempt we do now on our tops and hobby-horses, and with the same surprise, that they could ever so much entertain or engage us."[4]

The following beautiful extracts, on the character and purposes of Providence, the duty and interest of man, much in the style of Pope's Essay on Man, are so full of truth, and truth so happily expressed, that they deserve to be written in characters of gold.

"For his own sake no duty God can ask,
The common welfare is our only task;
For this sole end his precepts, kind as just,
Forbid intemperance, murder, theft and lust,
With every act injurious to our own
Or others good, for such are crimes alone;
For this are peace, love, charity, enjoined,
With all that can secure and bless mankind.
This is the public safety Virtue's cause,
And happiness the end of all her laws,
For such by nature is the human frame,
Our duty, and our int'rest are the same."

"How little they[5] God's counsels comprehend,
The universal parent, guardian, friend!
Who forming by degrees to bliss, mankind,
This globe our sportive nursery assigned.
Scarce any ill to human life belongs
But what our follies cause, or mutual wrongs,

[4] Origin of Evil, Boston edition, 68—71.
[5] Puritanical Divines.

Or if some stripes from Providence we feel,
He strikes with pity, and but wounds to heal."

"——— soon as e'er these mortal pleasures cloy,
His hand shall lead us to sublimer joy;
Snatch us from all our little sorrows here,
Calm every grief, and dry each childish tear;
Waft us to regions of eternal peace,
Where bliss and virtue grow with like increase;
From strength to strength our souls forever guide,
Through wond'rous scenes of being yet untried."

"Oh could mankind but make these truths their guide,
And force the helm from prejudice and pride,
Were once these maxims fix'd, that God's our friend,
Virtue our good, and happiness our end,
How soon must reason o'er the world prevail,
And error, fraud and superstition fail!
None would hereafter, then, with groundless fear,
Describe the Almighty cruel and severe,
Predestinating some without pretence
To Heav'n, and some to Hell for no offence;
Inflicting endless pains for transient crimes,
And fav'ring sects, or nations, men, or climes."

"None would fierce zeal for piety mistake,
Or malice for whatever tenets sake,
Or think salvation to a few confin'd,
And Heav'n too narrow to contain mankind!"[6]

IX. The excellent character and pure philanthropy of Henry Brooke, render him an ornament to any class of men among whose names his may be enrolled. He was born in Ireland, and educated at Dublin College; and soon removing to England he became very early in life, the friend and favorite of Pope, Swift, and other eminent men. Possessing the friendship of the Lords Littleton and Chatham, he was introduced to the Prince of Wales; and he soon by his writings, obtained an unbounded popularity and made himself opulent. Driven back to

[6] See his works, London edition of 1790, vol. i.

Ireland by sickness, he became too strongly attached to the scenes of his youth, to be drawn again to England, even by the most earnest entreaties of his literary friends: and soon feeling pinched in his resources in consequence of profusive benevolence, subjected to political ingratitude and the violence of party spirit, and now bereft of an angelic companion with whom he had been connected since her 14th year, his constitution sunk under the pressure of such complicated misfortunes. His towering genius was repressed only to rise with new majesty, and the star of his literary fame shone the more brightly in contrast with the clouds of gloom and despondency which had hidden it for a season. At this time he produced several works, the best known of which is the Fool of Quality, a fiction. But he breathed into it his expansive piety and good will, which the reader will find penetrating his own heart, as he contemplates the following strain.

"And thus, on the grand and final consummation, when every will shall be subdued to *the will of good to all*, our Jesus will take in hand the resigned chordage of our hearts; he will tune them as so many instruments, and will touch them with the finger of his own divine feelings. Then shall the wisdom, the might, and the goodness of our God, become the wisdom, might and goodness of all his intelligent creatures; the happiness of each shall multiply and overflow, in the wishes and participation of the happiness of all; the universe shall begin to sound

with the song of congratulation; and all voices shall break forth in an eternal hallelujah of praise, transcending praise, and glory, transcending glory, to God and the Lamb! There shall be no lapse thenceforward, no falling away forever; but God in his Christ, and Christ in his redeemed, shall be a will and a wisdom, and an action and a mightiness, and a goodness and a graciousness, and a glory rising on glory, and a blessing rising on blessedness, through an ever-beginning to a never ending eternity."[7]

X. With Dr. Andrew Kippis we shall associate the editors of the Monthly and Critical Reviews, works whose wide circulation and long continuance sufficiently evince how highly they were prized by a literary, scientific and religious community. Dr. Kippis was a dissenting minister, and an author of great repute. The best known and most valued of his works is the Biographia Britanica, biography being the kind of writing in which he seems to have delighted. He wrote the life of Capt. Cook, and of Dr. Lardner, and was for several years concerned in the Monthly Review. It has been conjectured by some, that, in the following passage, the Dr. intimates his hope in the final salvation of all men.

Speaking of Lord Shaftsbury, he says, "There is a tradition, that amidst other difficulties which occurred to him in regard to the truth of the Christian Revelation, he was startled at the idea of its

7 Fool of Quality, vol. v.

containing the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments; that he consulted some eminent churchmen whether the New Testament positively asserted that doctrine; and that upon being assured that it did, he declared himself incapable of assenting to a system of religion which maintained a tenet so repugnant to all his views of the benignity of the great Governor of the Universe.[8]

"If his Lordship had lived in the present day, he would have found a number of divines who would have given him quite a different answer. They would have informed him, that, in their opinion, Christianity holds out no doctrine of so dreadful a nature, and that at the very utmost, it only denounces the final extinction of the impenitently wicked; so that such, *if there be any such*, who after all shall remain incorrigibly corrupt and abandoned, will, at length, no longer exist in the creation of God."[9]

The partiality with which Universalism was regarded by the conductors of the Reviews, is manifested in every instance in which they are called to

[8] Here we have an instance of the prejudice which has been excited against Christianity, by the erroneous supposition that it inculcates the doctrine of endless misery. How strong a refutation is this of the trite objection, that Universalism leads to infidelity, Deism and Atheism. Universalism alone takes away from unbelievers the objections they urge against the holy system of Jesus, founded on the supposed cruelty of the punishments it denounces; this alone crowns the purpose of God with a glory which is worthy of infinite wisdom and love; and it holds out Christianity in the form best calculated to recommend it to men of benevolent feeling and good sense.

[9] Biograph. Britan. London, 1789. Article. Cooper, third Earl of Shaftsbury. Month. Repos. vii. 491.

speak on the subject.[0] Are they reviewing a writer who defends endless misery? His theme to them is revolting; and how much praise soever they bestow on his intentions, his character, or style, they find nothing congenial to their own dispositions in the doctrine he advocates. But if the writer is a Universalist, they never are solicitous to hide their approbation of his sentiments, and indeed his theme sometimes secures their favor, and blunts the points of their fearless criticisms.[1]

XI. A dignitary of the English church, renowned for his philosophical and moral researches, and for his concise but unanswerable defence of Christianity, claims our attention at this period. William Paley received his education at Christ's College in Cambridge, where he took his bachelor's degree in 1763. We do not hesitate to say that, from his youth, Paley had an aversion to the doctrine of end-

[0] The Monthly Review was commenced in 1759, by Mr. afterward Dr. Griffiths. He designed the work, and edited it for many years. Among its contributors men of the most respectable character may be reckoned. Dr. William Rose, author of a well known translation of Sallust; Rev. William Ludlam, rector of Cuckfield in Sussex, and fellow of St. John's College; Rev. Thomas Gwatkin, afterwards connected with the College of William and Mary, in Virginia; Dr. Kippis, as already mentioned; but one of the most constant contributors was Rev. Samuel Babcock, a respectable dissenting minister, who is said to have been the author of those elegant sermons, which were preached in the year 1784 at the Bampton Lectures; and this gentleman was for a long time connected with the proprietorship of the Monthly Review. See the Quarterly Journal of Science, Literature and the Arts, vol. xiii. 310, 311, London, 1822.

[1] To those who have the means of examining the huge piles of the volumes of the Monthly Review, we recommend the following references to places, where they will find proofs that the conductors were

less misery. When he was in college, a circumstance took place, illustrative of this fact. It was while Bishop Watson was Moderator, in whose words the relation shall be given.

"Paley, I remember, brought me for one of the questions he meant for his act, *Æternitas pœnarum contradicit divinis attributis*. I had accepted it; and indeed I never refused a question, either as Moderator, or as professor of divinity. A few days afterwards he came to me in a great fright, saying that the master of his college (Dr. Thomas, Dean of Ely) had sent to him, and insisted on his not keeping on such a question. I readily permitted him to change it; and told him that if it would lessen his master's apprehensions, he might put in *non* before *contradicit*, and he did so."[2] All three of the parties in this transaction are censurable; Dr. Thomas for preventing the member of his college from defending a proposition which he had selected, and which he would have defended to great advantage; Watson for suggesting an expedient to which Paley could not conform without hypocrisy; and the latter for acceding to it. One of Paley's biographers has well said, "as he had first proposed to argue against the eternity of future punishments, we may suppose that *that* was his undissembled opinion; and therefore, it would have been more

favorably disposed to the doctrine of Universalism: xxii. 79. xxviii. 311. xli. 101. lxi. 120, 122. lxiii. 316, et al. freq.

[2] Life of Bishop Watson, by himself, Philadelphia edition, 1818, p. 19, 20. Month. Repos. vol. xiii. 53.

honorable to his candor, to have taken an entirely new question, rather than to have argued in opposition to his real sentiments. Through the whole course of his life, Dr. Paley seemed too willing to support established doctrines; and to find plausible reasons for existing institutions; and even in cases in which he must have felt those doctrines to be at variance with truth, and those institutions in opposition to the best interests of mankind. His great and vigorous mind ought to have disdained the petty subterfuges of disingenuous subtlety, and interested sophistication."[3] There cannot be a question that Paley through life, viewed with abhorrence the doctrine of never-ending misery. Where, in all his numerous writings, has he used an argument to prove tha soul-chilling system? In the chapter on the Divine Benevolence, in his Moral Philosophy, he lays down principles diametrically opposed to the thought of endless suffering. That God does not will ultimately the misery of man, that he is not indifferent to human welfare, but that he has in all his works consulted the happiness of his creatures, are the propositions he maintains. He held, it is true, to the doctrine of future punishment; but, proportioning the penalty to the degree of crime, he maintained that there may be very little to choose between the condition of some who are in hell, and others who are in heaven.[4]

3 See the memoir of Paley prefixed to his works, New York edition, 1824, vol. i. 12.

4 New York edition of his works, 1824, ii. 49.

le advises us, in the end of his Natural Theology,) await death "under a firm and settled persuaon, that, living and dying, we are God's; that fe is passed in his constant presence; that death esigns us to his merciful disposal."[5] But no deached sentences that we can quote from his works, ior any opinion that we can express of them, will ieget in the reader's mind that satisfaction, that irm conviction of the unchanging and universal goodness of God, which a perusal would afford, than which nothing would more fully convince him that Paley believed in the universal and eternal welfare of the human race. It is probable, however, that his situation in the church, prevented a full and explicit disclosure of his views in regard to the final destination of the human race.[6]

XII. From Paley we turn our attention to Robert Robinson, a man of extraordinary genius, who rising out of great obscurity, attracted the attention of his countrymen, and finally became the pride and oracle of the Baptist denomination in England. He was settled over a congregation of that faith at Cambridge, the nursery of all that is great in literature, and here, by his eloquent appeals to crowded audiences, he obtained a wide popularity, and, by his works which he published, a lasting fame. But in the latter part of his life, his sentiments were radically changed; he became both a Unitarian and a Universalist; and Dr. Priestley, at whose

[5] New York edition of his works, vol. iii. 821.
[6] Monthly Repository.

house he died, and for whom he had preached just before his death, declares that he never heard the doctrine of the trinity ridiculed in the manner it was done by Robinson. The respect which he entertained for the celebrated Elhanan Winchester, who was for several years, a popular preacher of Universal Restitution in England, and the view which he took of the opposition made to that sentiment, are at once a proof of the liberality of his heart, and raise in our minds a strong suspicion, that he maintained similar views with that great man.

In a letter to a friend he says, "Mr. Winchester has been here and preached. I did not hear him. They preach and print against him. They pretend that God is of their temper, and will not bate a day of eternity. They never knew what criticism was, and they do nothing but chant *forever and ever.* Poor honies! servants that know not what their Lord doth! Tell one of them, "there are twenty-five millions in France, and there is not one among them like you. Are all these doomed by their own Father to endless and unavoidable woe"? They answer gravely, "Yes." Ask, what sort of a Father this is? They are never shocked; they never blush; but affirm, "this is wise, and just, and kind; and it will be more glorious to God, to save me, and damn them, than it would be to share eternal life amongst us: and we few, though we hate one another here, shall be the happier for the damnation of the rest." Barbarians! What arrogant madness inspires you? Are you the exceellnt of

the earth? "O! my soul, come not thou into their assembly; to such, mine honor, be not thou united. Cursed be their anger, for it is cruel."[7]

Of the circumstances of his introduction to Mr. Winchester, his biographer has preserved the following *jeu d'esprit*. "What," said he, "are you the man who thinks that God Almighty will burn the old tobacco pipes till they become white again?"[8] To which, there is a tradition that he added, "well, this is better than to break them." In his biography, we are assured that he had real fellowship for Mr. Winchester.[9]

XIII. Another dissenter of equal eminence with Robinson, and better known as a scholar, was George Walker, F. R. S. He advanced through regular courses of education until he entered the University of Edinburgh: thence in 1752, he removed to Glasgow, in both of which places he enjoyed the attention and patronage of the professors and other men of eminence. In 1756, he was ordained and settled at Durham, where he finished his doctrine of the sphere, "an astonishing and elegant work, which he had commenced at the early age of eighteen." Thence he removed to Yarmouth, and during his residence here, he had the offer of the situation that Dr. Priestley afterwards occupied in the family of the Marquis of Lansdowne, but which he declined. He was elected

[7] Dyer's Life of Robinson, London edition of 1796, p. 286, 287.
[8] Ubi supra. [9] Ubi supra.

mathematical professor of the academy at Warrington, where he lived two years, when he removed to Nottingham, the great theatre of his exertions and his usefulness.

While here he performed not only the labors of the pulpit, but entered with great spirit into the political dissensions which then agitated the public mind. He was the author of those petitions and addresses which so much distinguished the town of Nottingham, and concerning one of which Mr. Burke said, in the course of a debate called forth by it in the House of Commons, "that he would rather have been the author of it than of all his works." In the year 1782, at the Nottingham county meeting, he delivered a speech on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, with which that eminent patriot, Sir George Saville, was particularly pleased, and in which the Duke of Portland thought the author had outrivalled Cicero himself.

To accept the office of theological professor in the new college at Manchester, he left Nottingham in 1798. For the last two or three years of his connexion with this college, he had the additional charge both of the mathematical and classical departments; in a word, the whole institution rested on his shoulders; but to this task his advanced age and declining health were unequal. As a member of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Manchester, he took an active part, and on the death of Dr. Percival, was elected President. All these offices he was obliged to resign to seek that retire-

ment which increasing maladies so loudly called for.

It was his brilliant genius, and true greatness of mind, that raised him, without affectation and without pride, to the high station he occupied; and not seeming to be conscious of the elevated rank which he had attained, he was constantly free and affable.

Four volumes of his sermons have appeared at different times. Two were published in 1790, which, to use the words of Wakefield, "are pregnant with the celestial fire of genius, and the vigor of noble sentiments." These he was induced to republish towards the close of his life, with two additional volumes, and two volumes of essays. He died April 21st, 1807.

The following extract is from a sermon on the parental character of God. "A parent among men, is, as it were, the creator of his children; and in the whole progress of the relation, he is their protector, provider, legislator and friend; he is the instructor of their reason, the guardian of their morals; his discipline chastises their passions; he connives not at a crime; he punishes in love, with a wise, a provident and benevolent view to their highest improvement, and to their highest capacity for sincere enjoyment and happiness; while with all his affection he springs forward to embrace them, in whatever degree they appear, in the dignified and lovely form of wisdom and moral goodness. Such is the God of Jesus Christ to all mankind; and thus in the application of God to our minds,

does Jesus Christ inspire every sentiment of reverence, of love, of respectful duty, of cheerful trust and confidence; impel from crime by awe, invite to obedience by gratitude and love, and by the whole of those powerful principles, assimilate our natures to the divine nature, and prepare us in this world of discipline and probation, for that glorious felicity which the Universal Parent meditated for us all from the moment he called us into existence."[o]

In his sermon on the parable of the rich man and Lazarus, he has a note as follows: "The character of a condemned spirit in the other world, is exhibited by our Lord in a view which well deserves attention. In a situation which implies horror to think of, no complaint occurs, no impotent struggling, no envying of the happiness in his distant view, no accusation of his judge; but in that affecting moment, when his prayer for mitigation is repelled, mild and resigned to his own fate, he turns his eye on the brethren whom he left in the world of trial, and wishes that they might be prevented from joining him in the world of suffering. Does suffering hereafter, according to the representation of Christ, work this blessed effect; and is suffering under the direction of the wisest, the holiest, and the best of beings, not intended to work out a rectified mind? is it intended to operate to no better use than the punishment of remediless ruin?

It is true, that the representation is in a parable or fable; but then it is a fable composed by Jesus

[o] Sermons by George Walker, F. R. S. vol. iv. 92, 93.

Christ, who never trifles, who mixes not imagination with truth, who instructs in every word, from whom, even in his fables, we should expect a consistency with what he knew of God, of another world, and of the dispensations of justice, of holiness and mercy."[1]

In the sermons on future punishment, the author clearly manifests his belief that all suffering will produce good, and will finally end.

"Some," he says, "have thought that they could not clothe the future punishment of sin with sufficient terrors, and have given, therefore, such exaggerated descriptions of them, both as to degree and duration, as, in the opinion of many, can no way be reconciled with just sentiments of God."[2] He maintained that the punishment of sin would not be inflicted by any direct act of the Almighty, but would be the natural consequence of sin; that it would be a mental rather than a corporeal punishment. And among other reasons why he adopts these opinions, he states that he does it, "because it leaves God unimpeached, even by the miserable sufferer himself, in representing his punishment to be the necessary consequence of that evil part which he has chosen; and not the arbitrary punishment and infliction of the benevolent Father of good, who does not delight in the punishment and misery of any creature he has made; because, in fine, the viewing the future punishment of the

[1] Sermons by George Walker, F. R. S. vol. i. 395, 396.
[2] Ibid, iv. 98.

wicked in this light, does in its nature suppose a capacity of being relieved from it, of gradually acquiring that better state of mind, and returning inclination towards virtue, which is the first and most desirable end of all punishment."[3]

XIV. The name of John Coakley Lettsom is well known as that of one of the most renowned physicians, philosophers and philanthropists in England. His whole life was one continued scene of usefulness, and his whole study was on the means of doing good. No brief eulogium that we here can give, will inspire that respect for his virtues which arises in the heart from a review of his life and correspondence. He was by birth and education a Quaker; "but he did not confine his liberality to those of this respectable sect, nor could he fully enter into all their peculiar views and habits. The severity of their discipline, the preciseness of their manners, and the confined nature of many of their opinions, but ill accorded with the liberal vivacity and expanded views of this their amiable associate. He acknowledged no God but one; no Heaven but *universal* happiness; no Religion but that of doing good; and though he knew how to set a proper value upon theological opinions, he held that a good life is the soundest orthodoxy, and the most benevolent man the best christian."[4]

At first it was not so with Dr. Lettsom, for his biographer informs us, "that by a total seclusion

[3] Sermons by George Walker, F. R. S. iv. 125.
[4] Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lettsom, i. 155.

from all society but that of the sect in which he had been educated, he had acquired a degree of illiberality which he would with great difficulty have overcome, had it not been for the agreeable and liberal manner in which an intimate friend discussed with him subjects of religious opinion; and in the expansion of his sentiments he found his mind enlarged. Thus early in life he began to think that the Creator was the equal parent of all his rational creatures, and that each had an equal claim on the exercise of virtue to the regard and to the prospect of future felicity. His ideas respecting the narrow system of a select few—of a favored people, and of arbitrary distinctions on account of religious opinion, were dissipated; and the practice of applying the term *anti-christian* to every other teacher but those of the society of Friends, appeared to him void of propriety and christian charity, and he lived to derive some of his dearest friendships from the society of the clergy of almost every denomination."[5] In a letter to a clergyman, dated Jan. 28, 1805, the amiable philanthropist expressed his views of all the divine dispensations by saying, that "Providence is merciful, even in punishments, the infliction of which is the commencement of future good."[6]

There is no man of whom it could be more truly said, that he lived for the good of others. Universal benevolence was not only a doctrine of his creed,

[5] Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Dr. Lettsom, i. 26.
[6] Ibid, ii. 121.

but a principle of his heart; and he was led to embrace this view of the scheme of Providence rather by the impulse of his disposition, than a system of ratiocination. As the reformer of the sciences of physic and agriculture, as the avowed and zealous opponent of slavery, as the founder of benevolent institutions, as the improver of prison discipline and the condition of the convicts, and as the generous and faithful physician, his name will forever shine in the annals of those men who lived, not to be great, but to be good and useful; and whose goodness arose, not from motives of vanity, but from a natural and overflowing source of benevolence.

XV. We finish the list of those who *admitted* rather than *defended* Universalism, with the name of John Hey, D. D. Norrissian professor of divinity at Cambridge, England, an office which he sustained during the space of fifteen years. In his public lectures, since published, he teaches, that "God's wrath and damnation are more terrible in the sound than in the sense,"[7] and expresses the hope that "all men will be happy ultimately, when punishment has done its work in reforming principles and conduct."[8] Speaking of purgatory, he says, "Though[9] it may not be founded either in reason or in Scripture, it is not unnatural. Who can bear the thought of dwelling in everlasting torments? Yet who can say that a God everlastingly just will not inflict them? The mind of man seeks for some

[7] Norrissian Lectures, iii. 154.
[8] Ibid, ii. 390. [9] Ibid, iv. 112.

resource: it finds one only; in conceiving that some temporary punishment, after death, may purify the soul from its moral pollutions, and make it, at last, acceptable even to a Deity infinitely pure."[o]

XVI. It becomes now our pleasing task to write the history of those who publicly and elaborately defended Universalism—a pleasure which arises alike from the success with which they defended their sentiments by their learning and arguments, and the clearness with which they illustrated the beneficial tendency of them by the sanctity of their lives. In point of time we give place first to the name of that renowned individual, Dr. David Hartley. He was the son of a very worthy and

[o] Perhaps Dr. Samuel Johnson should have been included among those who have raised doubts on the subject of endless misery. He believed that the situation of the dead might be mitigated by the prayers of the living. (Monthly Repository, ix. 156.) Dr. Lant Carpenter informs us, that Dr. Johnson "never made a wiser remark, than when he placed "Hartley's Observations" (a work in which Universalism is defended at length) as next in value to the Bible." Boswell has left us proofs of the doubts with which the Dr. regarded the doctrine of never ending misery.

"I ventured to ask him," says Boswell, "whether, although the words of some texts of Scripture seemed strong in the support of the dreadful doctrine of an eternity of punishment, we might not hope the denunciation was figurative, and would not literally be executed. *Johnson.* 'Sir, you are to consider the intention of punishment in a future state. We have no reason to be sure that we shall then be no longer liable to offend against God. We do not know that even the angels are quite in a state of security; nay, we know that some of them have fallen. It may therefore perhaps be necessary, in order to preserve both angels and men in a state of rectitude, that they should have continually before them the punishment of those who have deviated from it; but we may *hope* that by some other means a fall from rectitude may be prevented. Some of the texts of Scripture upon this subject, are, as you observe, indeed strong; but they may admit of a mitigated interpretation.' He then talked to me on this awful and delicate question in a gentle tone, and as if afraid to be decisive." Boswell's Life of Johnson, vol. ii. p. 446.

respectable clergyman, and was born August 30, 1705. At the age of fifteen he was admitted at Jesus College, and was afterwards elected a fellow. On examination of the Articles, he had scruples with respect to subscription, and the result was, that though intended at first for the church, his thoughts were turned to another profession. When he had resolved to pursue the science and practice of medicine, his time was divided between that, and the study of moral and religious things, nor can we suppose from the bias of his mind, that the latter subjects did not occupy his principal attention. The following letter addressed to a sister, will display at once how early his mind was turned to Universalism, the delight with which he dwelt upon the subject, and the good effect which this course of contemplation and study produced on his heart.

* * * * * * "But my chief studies are upon religious subjects, and especially upon the true meening of the Bible. I cannot express to you what inward peace and satisfaction these contemplations afford me: you remember how much I was overcome with superstitious fears when I was very young; I thank God that he has at last brought me to a lively sense of his infinite goodness and mercy to all his creatures, and that I see it both in all his works and in every page of his word. This has made me much more indifferent to this world than ever, at the same time that I enjoy it more; has taught me to love every man and to rejoice in the

happiness which our heavenly Father intends for all his children; and has quite dispersed all the gloomy and melancholy thoughts which arise from the apprehensions of eternal misery for myself or friends. How long or how much God will punish wicked men, he has no where revealed, and therefore I cannot tell; but this I am sure of, that in judgment he will remember mercy; that he will not be extreme to mark what is done amiss; that he chastens only because he loves; that he will not return to destroy, because he is God and not man, i. e. has none of our foolish passions and resentments; that his tender mercies are over all his works, and that he is even love itself. I could almost transcribe the whole Bible and the conclusion I draw from all is this: First, that no man can ever be happy till he is holy, till his affections be taken off from this vain world and set upon a better, and till he loves God above all things, and his neighbor as himself. Secondly, That all the evils and miseries which God sends upon us, are for no other purpose but to bring us to himself, to the knowledge and practice of our duty, and that as soon as that is done, they will have an end."[1]

Not far from the time in which he wrote this letter, and about the age of twenty-five, he commenced his work on Man, so far as to contemplate the subjects of it; but it was not finished until after he had formed a happy and intimate acquaintance with

[1] Monthly Repository, v. 56, 57.

Drs. Law, Rutter and Warburton, afterwards Bishops of Carlisle, Durham and Gloucester, Dr. Jortin and Mr. Hooke, the Roman Historian, in whose society it was arranged and perfected. It appeared in the beginning of the year 1749, when its author was about forty-three years of age; and according to his expectations it was at first little read and less understood, though he believed that at some future time, it would become the adopted system of philosophers, an expectation which the event has proved to have been well founded.

This work consists of observations on Man, his frame, his duty, and his expectations. The first part is devoted to observations on the frame of man, by which is meant his mind, as well as his body. The arrangement and subjects of these observations may be best learned by the order which the author observed.

"1. I shall lay down the general laws, according to which the sensations, and motions are performed, and our ideas generated.

2. I shall consider each of the sensations and motions in particular, and inquire how far the phenomena which each illustrate, and are illustrated by, the foregoing general laws.

3. I shall proceed in the like manner, to the particular phenomena of ideas, or of the understanding, affection, memory and imagination; applying to them what has been before delivered.

Lastly, I shall endeavor to give a particular history and analysis of these six classes of intillectu-

al pleasures and pains, viz. those of imagination, ambition, self-interest, sympathy, theopathy, and the moral sense."

The second part contains observations on the duty and expectations of mankind.

The author, in the first place, adduces the evidence for the being and attributes of God, and the general truths of natural religion. From these, as a new foundation, he deduces the evidences of revealed religion. He then inquires concerning the rule of life by which man should be governed. It is considered first, as it can be deduced from the practice and opinions of mankind, which he represents as being generally in favor of virtue; and he shows next what regard should be paid to the several kinds of pleasure and pain in forming the rule of life. The rule of faith comes then under examination. He inquires what faith is necessary in natural and revealed religion, or in the particular tenets of christian churches, for the purification and perfection of our natures.

Lastly, he comes to the subject of the expectations of mankind, here and hereafter, in consequence of their observance or violation of the rule of life. First, the expectations of *individuals* in the present life are considered. He thought that most or all men receive more happiness than misery in this life, though the balance cannot be much in favor of the most happy. Virtue has always the fairest prospects, and vice is always exposed to the greatest hazards. But he thought it did not seem

at all probable that happiness is exactly proportioned to virtue. Secondly, he treats of the expectations of bodies politic, the Jews in particular, and the world in general, during the present state of the earth. He thought that all the then civil governments would be overturned, as would the forms of church government; that the Jews will be restored to Palestine; that the christian religion will be preached to, and received by all nations: that the world will be destroyed by fire, before which there will be no complete happiness. This event he infers from the words of Peter. Thirdly, he treats of the expectations of mankind concerning a future state. He thought it was probable from the mere light of nature that there would be such a state, but that the christian religion gave an absolute assurance of it; that the rewards and punishments of that state will far exceed the happiness and misery of this, both in degree and duration; that future happiness will be of a spiritual nature, but misery may be both corporeal and mental; that the soul will remain in a state of inactivity, though perhaps not of insensibility, from death to the resurrection. Fourthly, he treats of the terms of salvation. It follows from what he had said of the intellectual pleasures and pains, and from the declarations of Scripture, that the bulk of mankind are not qualified for pure, unmixed happiness, to obtain which faith and good works are necessary. Fifthly, he treats of the final happiness of all mankind. The ground he takes is, *it is probable from rea-*

son and the Scriptures, that all mankind will be made happy ultimately. He reasons as follows: The evils that befal us here have a tendency to promote our good. Analogy teaches that the evils of another life will have a like good effect. The creation of benevolence in man is an argument in favor of the hypothesis. For it is not reasonable that God should give us this principle, and leave it forever unsatisfied. The infinite goodness of God is *manifestly* an argument in favor of Universal Salvation. So are his infinite happiness and perfection. These must bear down and destroy their opposites. God, too, is impartial; he is impartially good. Hence we derive a strong argument in favor of this doctrine. And this is not invalidated by the present inequality of good and evil, for both these are means by which God is promoting the ultimate good of man. We may draw many obvious and undeniable arguments from those attributes of the Deity which express his relation to us. He is our creator, preserver, governor, friend and father. "Shall then a creator, who is a friend and father, create for eternal infinite misery? Will he preserve an existence which ceases to afford happiness, and can now only produce misery without end? Will not the governor and judge of all the earth do right?" To punish infinitely for finite sins, is unjust. And there is not so much difference in the characters of men, as there would be in their condition, if some were made infinitely happy and others infinitely miserable.

In considering the doctrine of the Scriptures on this subject, he shows that the texts used to prove the eternity of punishment may be justly explained in another sense. He takes notice of the words rendered *everlasting*, *eternal*, and *forever;* the words of Christ, "*where the worm dieth not,*" &c. and his saying concerning Judas, it had been good for him if he had not been born. Some of his observations on these are ingenious and interesting. He contends that the general tenor of reasoning in the Scriptures concerning the mercy of God, and his readiness to forgive, favors the salvation of all. To the same purpose he observes, that there is nothing in all St. Paul's Epistles in favor of eternal misery, though the Epistles to the Romans and Hebrews are both general summaries of the christian religion, and though Paul, as he thought, speaks in both of future punishment. "In like manner," he says, "there is nothing of this kind in St. Luke's gospel, or his Acts of the Apostles, in St. John's gospel, or his Epistles, or in the Epistles of James, Peter, or Jude. And yet good men now who believe in the eternity of punishment, scarce ever fail to insist upon it most earnestly in their discourses and exhortations." To this he adds, that it does not appear from the writings of the most ancient Fathers, that they interpreted the Scriptures to signify eternal punishment; and that the omission of this doctrine in the ancient creeds, shows that it was not originally believed in the church.

In laying down the scriptural evidence of Universalism, his observations are highly pertinent and convincing. He sustains the doctrine with a variety of unanswerable arguments; and, in conclusion, represents it as being calculated to dispel all gloom, and fill the heart with gratitude, love and joy.

He was a Necessarian; and considered the system of Necessity as greatly favoring the doctrine in question; and so on the other hand, he looked on this system in which every thing tends to universal good, as the sole and complete justification of the ways of God in ordaining evil.[2]

His son has summed up his character in the following words: "He was addicted to no vice in any part of his life: neither to pride, nor to sensuality, nor intemperance, nor ostentation, nor envy, nor to any sordid self-interest; but his heart was replete with every contrary virtue. The virtuous principles which are instilled in his works, were the invariable and decided principles of his

[2] I have used the original edition of the work, London, 1749. A third volume has been added, by Herman Andrew Pistorius, rector of Poseritz, in the island of Rugen, entitled "*Notes* and Additions to Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man." In his notes on that part which treats of the future punishment of man, Pistorius professes to give the arguments of controversialists on both sides, and to leave the reader to judge of their force; nevertheless, we discover a strong bias in favor of Hartley's views on this subject. He gives more time and attention to the defence of Universalism, than to the opposite opinion; and frequently states his arguments as though they were actually the convictions of his mind. At any rate there is sufficient warmth in favor of that doctrine to show it was not a mere speculation with him.

life and conduct." He died at Bath, August 28, 1757, aged 52.

XVII. Dr. Hartley's work had not been long before the world, when it was thought necessary to sustain the doctrine of endless misery against the shock it had received. Accordingly, in the following year, Dr. Henry Stebbing, in his sermons at Boyle's Lectures, made an effort to defend the impugned sentiment.[3] By some of the smaller tracts at this time published in favor of Universalism, a work was called forth entitled, "A Vindication of Divine Justice in the infliction of endless punishment for sin. By John Prince."[4] But the most considerable publication which appeared was by John Maud, M. A. vicar of St. Neots, Huntingdonshire, and chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Manchester. It came out in 1755, and had for its title, "The doctrine of Endless Punishment freely and impartially debated, inquiring what credibility it hath from history, analogy, or Scripture. With a discussion on the Origin of Evil. In four books." The method he pursues is to take a view of man in all the conditions of his existence, from his formation in the hands of God, down to the end of the Old Testament dispensation. After considering the sin of the antediluvians, he states that God "was reduced to the unavoidable dilemma," either of contending with man forever, by threatenings or punishments here on the earth, or else destroying them

3 Month. Review, ii. 485.
4 Ibid, xi. 477.

utterly so far as it respects this world, and removing the scene of their torments to the future state. The inefficacy of all temporal punishments to deter men from impiety, is what the author regarded as one of the strongest arguments in favor of endless misery. Had he but stopped to reflect, that, to say the least, men have ever been equally as wicked where they have professed endless misery, as where they have not, he might have felt that his argument was considerably weakened by an appeal to this fact. All his reasoning is founded on this hypothesis, so contrary to truth, that men have been restrained from impiety by a belief of the doctrine of endless torments, whereas this doctrine never was so generally, if we may not say universally, believed, as when the Christian Church was plunged lowest into the depths of depravity, and the dark clouds of ignorance that overshadowed her, excluded the pure light of divine truth.

Passing from the antediluvians, our author considers the Babel enterprise; from the plain of Shinah he goes to the banks of the Nile, to inquire concerning the origin of the Egyptians and the character of Pharaoh; thence he proceeds to the land of Judea, to survey the character of the children of Israel; and he shows that there have been men in all ages of the world, whom no mercies could invite, nor judgments reclaim. And God, by leaving upon record the wilfull disobedience of men under his peculiar care, has experimentally proved, had he not revealed, the absolute necessity of future

eternal torments. And as the picture of the Jews is a just representation of all other nations, the author concludes from his general survey, that eternal torments is the only means of deterring men from sin, and that it is one of the principal doctrines of Scripture. He sees it denounced on our first parents, in the threatening, "thou shalt surely die"; and as it was the first, so it was the last denunciation in the Old Testament, "lest I come and smite the earth with a curse." That the curse here denounced is endless misery, is evident from the opinion of some of the best commentators; and as some of the Jews were not to be reclaimed by the greatest *finite* punishments, it is to be supposed infinite wisdom would denounce greater. In the destruction of the old world, God made the experiment, and it has been proved that *finite* punishments will not prevent sin. Now the destruction of the Jews by Titus, to which some apply the words of Malachi, was not a thousandth part so alarming and tragical as the calamity of the deluge; and "if this fearful vengeance had been too weak an argument to prevent the world in general from running into the like or greater impieties, it would be but a *flat* kind of argument, and a very *awkward* climax in the inspired writers, to threaten an abandoned world with a less punishment, when the perverseness of human nature was not to be reclaimed by a judgment so infinitely greater: for that (the destruction of) the old world far exceeded in horror and extent, the overthrow and destruction of the

Jews by the Romans will hardly be debated! And, therefore, it is very evident, that the curse denounced upon impenitent sinners is the curse of eternal misery." Our Saviour has opposed an effectual barrier against our being convinced by the above argument, in informing us that the tribulation which came upon the Jews was such as never had been from the beginning of the world; no, nor ever should be.[5] However, though we cannot, in this instance, give our author credit for correctness, we certainly can for zeal.

Having gone through the Old Testament, which he found altogether favorable to his purpose, he proceeds to consider, in his fourth book, how the Saviour taught the doctrine of punishment. He maintains its eternal duration by the application of the Greek word as well to the misery of the wicked as the happiness of the righteous. He then endeavors to illustrate the moral effect of this doctrine in deterring men from sin; and attempts to answer the objections to it; but he neither states them fairly, nor answers them satisfactorily.[6]

XVIII. Neither intimidated nor convinced by the reasoning of Maud, the celebrated and amiable Abraham Tucker[7] published his work entitled, "Light of Nature pursued," in which he condemns and refutes the doctrine of which the former had

[5] Matt. xxiv. 21.
[6] Monthly Review, xiii, 364.
[7] This was the *real* name of the author. The assumed name, prefixed to the work, was Edward Search.

been so warm an advocate. This is a defence of the fundamental truths of religion upon general principles, and by arguments independent of revelation. The author, who was a sincere christian, appears to have entertained some strange notions concerning the nature of the soul, and the changes it is to go through after death. In chapter xxx. he considered particularly the duration of punishment, which he maintained could not be eternal: for, it must be measured by the degree of criminality in the sufferer. If we say we escape it by faith, there is no certain criterion to establish the nature and degree of faith necessary. As no man is perfectly righteous, as the rectitude even of the best differs in degree, the rewards of heaven must differ in the same manner. Eternal punishment or eternal happiness, based on the conduct of men, would be unjust, and we cannot therefore suppose that God will inflict it. The author considered also the term *aionios*, as applied to rewards and punishments, which he thought ought not to have been translated. In the Old Testament the retribution for human actions was evidently temporal; and as the Jews had no idea of carrying them into the future world, they applied the Hebrew word *oulam*, corresponding to the Greek *aionios*, as expressive of a duration which, though finite, was hidden, unknown, contingent, or of considerable duration. The blessings of God are of two kinds, the first relating to the material, the second to the spiritual existence of man. The first consist in rewards and punish-

ments, consequent upon obedience or disobedience, whose duration is well expressed by the term *aionios*; the second are the blessings of grace, eternal spiritual life, which is a pure gift, perpetual in its duration, and will be bestowed freely upon all. The author believed sin and suffering to be incidental only to material existence, that a modification of this material existence we shall possess, even after death, and throw it off only by degrees. *Aionion* punishments or rewards, therefore, continue until the soul becomes fully purified from matter, and enters on its spiritual, and necessarily happy existence.

Of this work we may speak in terms of the highest praise. Dr. Paley mentions the author with high commendations, and acknowledges himself much indebted to his writings.[8]

XIX. Thomas Broughton deserves to be ranked among those who have defended the doctrine of Universal Restoration. After finishing his education at Cambridge, he obtained, through the influence of the Duke of Bedford and Bishop Sherlock, a comfortable living in the church of England. Besides several other works, he published a Historical Dictionary of all Religions, two vols. fol., and a work entitled, "Prospect of Futurity." In the latter he supposes that the Holy Spirit used the ambiguous word *aionios* in application to misery, that, while sinners might have reason to fear a

[8] See Preface to Moral and Political Philosophy.

never ceasing punishment, God would be left at liberty to inflict it or not, according to his pleasure.' Broughton, however, did not do justice to his own views in this supposition; and it is probable he hesitated to avow his full belief. What he failed to do in his publications, however, he accomplished by his private labors, for it was by his conversation that the good Bishop Newton was brought to renounce the doctrine of endless misery, and embrace that of the eventual restoration of all mankind.[9]

XX. Bishop Thomas Newton, whom we have just mentioned, after receiving his education at Litchfield School and at Trinity College, rose gradually through different stations in the church until, in 1761, he was nominated Bishop of Bristol. He was an individual of high standing as a man of learning and of virtue. His principal works are an edition of Paradise Lost, with notes, and a well written life of the Poet; Dissertations on the Prophecies, a work considered as possessing great merit; and Dissertations on various subjects published after his death. One of the latter Dissertations is "On the Final State and Condition of Mankind." In this the Bishop discusses two topics. First, the different places of abode of the blessed and of the damned. Second, their happiness and misery. He believed in an intermediate state, in which men will

9 Prospect of Futurity, London, 1768, p. 481, 482.
British Register, for February, 1796, p. 32.

be happy or miserable according to their characters, but neither so happy nor so miserable as after the resurrection. When the general judgment is passed, the blessed will dwell in heaven, the place in which God dwells, the habitation of angels, in which the Saviour resided previously to his advent, and whither he ascended. But where heaven or hell is, cannot be determined.

In regard to the second point, the Bishop maintained that it was impossible to tell fully what the torments of the damned will consist of. It will be actual suffering, a state directly opposite to that of the blessed. In regard both to the righteous and the wicked, their retribution may be in some respects corporeal. The fire of hell is not metaphorical, but real; and hell is made dark by reason of the immense quantities of smoke which rises there. The punishments of hell will not be equally inflicted on every person, but, by different degrees, according to the character of the offence.

That part of the dissertation with which we are chiefly concerned, treats of the *duration* of punishment. After confuting the theory of annihilation, the Bishop maintained that strictly endless punishment is threatened in the Scriptures. The word which signifies duration, although sometimes limited in its sense, is never so when applied to the future punishment of sinners; there are no stronger words to express duration; and there are other forms of expression, too plain to be misunderstood, which indisputably are threatenings of never-end-

ing woe. In concluding this part of the subject the Bishop declared, "God hath threatened everlasting misery to the wicked as plainly and positively as he hath promised everlasting happiness to the righteous." And if men will incur such misery when they might more easily obtain endless life, whom, said he, have they to blame but themselves? Archbishop Tillotson's argument is introduced—that though it may be necessary to denounce endless punishment, there is not a like necessity for its execution. God has the power to dispense with the penalty of the law. But, said the Bishop, why not perform one as well as the other? The threatenings were not made rashly, and God cannot repent. If he will not execute what he threatens, why does he threaten at all?[1]

Those who should read the Dissertation no further, would hardly suppose him to have been a believer of a doctrine of which he was an ardent advocate,—that of the final salvation of all mankind. But how, it will be asked, could he advocate that sentiment consistently with the threatening of

1 Perhaps, after all, there was no very essential difference between the system of Tillotson and that of Bishop Newton. Tillotson's argument was, that God did not threaten men with endless misery that they might sin and be punished, but that thereby they might be induced to repent, and so escape punishment. Bishop Newton believed that God made the awful threatening for the purpose of reclaiming the sinner; and as it was made only on condition of final impenitence, in the event of the ultimate conversion of all mankind, the threatening was voided of course. According to the Bishop's theory, if the sinner remained eternally in rebellion, he must eternally suffer; and this was a consequence surely which Tillotson would not have disallowed. The difference between the theories of these two eminent men, seems to have been more a difference of words than reality.

endless misery and God's intention to execute it? He satisfied himself that he did it, in the following manner: God made the awful threatening *for the purpose of reclaiming the sinner*. Endless misery is threatened, and shall be executed upon the sinner, if he do not repent. And it is allowed on every hand, that the repentant sinner will not be lost. Now, "if the sinner be reclaimed, the end is obtained, and the threatening is voided of course." God threatened to destroy Nineveh. What was the reason he did not send that destruction? "Was it not because they repented, and by that repentance arrested the divine judgments?" Upon the same principle of justice, if the sinner repent, God will not inflict upon him the punishments he hath denounced. And in this the divine veracity can suffer no impeachment, for the threatening was made on this condition, or reservation.

The Bishop, after very carefully expressing this opinion, proceeded next to show, what it manifestly behoved him to do, that repentance in hell is not impossible. He attacked zealously the common opinion that the future state of man is fixed and unalterable. The Scriptures used to prove this, said he, have no such meaning; it is "without any real foundation in Scripture, or in the nature and reason of things. To suppose that a man's happiness or misery to all eternity should be absolutely and unchangeably fixed and determined by the uncertain behaviour of a few years in this life, is a supposition even more unreasonable and unnatural,

than that a man's mind and manners should be completely formed and fashioned in his cradle, and that his whole future fortune and condition should depend altogether upon his infancy; infancy being much greater in proportion to the few years of this life, than the whole of this life is to eternity."

The Bishop then proceeded to show, that the repentance of the wicked in hell is not only possible, but probable and certain. In the first place, it would be impossible for them to exist in such torment without coming to a sense of their wickedness. Whether they will or not, they must be convinced by all their senses, by occular demonstration, by every thing around and within them, of the justice and righteousness of God, and of the evil nature and effects of sin. In the world to come there will not be the same temptations to make them wicked; and their senses all being quicker, punishment will be more insupportable. "No creature can be so totally depraved and abandoned, as to hold out, under the most exquisite tortures, obstinate and obdurate unto all eternity. Some may persist for a longer, some for a shorter term; but in the end all must be subdued, so that their punishment may more properly be called *indefinite* than *infinite*. In short, if they have any sense or feeling, any reason or understanding, any choice or free will, they must one time or other, sooner or later, be brought to repentance; if they have none of these, they are no better than stocks or stones, and as they

cannot deserve, so neither can they suffer, any punishment."

He next supported his opinion from the consideration of God's purpose in punishing the sinner, of the attributes and perfections of the Deity, and of his design in the production of his intelligent creation. The marrow of his remarks on these topics, is contained in the following quotation: "God is love;" and he would rather not have given life, than render that life a torment and curse to all eternity. Man indeed must have been made a free, rational, moral agent, or otherwise he could not have been capable of good or evil, or reward or punishment, and it is as just and reasonable and fitting that he should be punished for his evil actions, as that he should be rewarded for his goodness. But God never inflicts punishment merely for punishment's sake. In the midst of judgment he remembers mercy. His chastisements, like those of a loving father, are designed, not to harden men in sin, but to recover them to goodness, to correct and meliorate their nature, to terrify, to compel, to persuade, to oblige, and at length to bring them to repentance and reformation. His goodness could never give birth to any one being, and much less to a number of beings, whose end, he foresaw and could not but foresee, would be irretrievable misery; nor could even his justice for short lived transgressions inflict everlasting punishments. Imagine a creature, nay imagine numberless creatures, produced out of nothing, and therefore guilty of no

prior offence, sent into this world of frailty, which if is well known beforehand they will so use as to abuse it, and then for the excesses of a few years delivered over to torments of endless ages, without the least hope or possibility of relaxation or redemption. Imagine it you may, but you can never seriously believe it, nor reconcile it to God and goodness. The thought is shocking even to human nature, and how much more abhorrent then must it be to the divine perfections. God must have made all his creatures finally to be happy; he could never make any whose end he foreknew would be misery everlasting."

The Bishop then foresaw that the objector would say, on these principles the Devil and his angels will at last be saved as well as mankind. This is a consequence which he did not deny. "The Devil himself," says he, "must at last be subdued and submit, and in the end there will be a regeneration and restoration of all creatures to the happiness for which they were originally designed." "But," as he adds in closing, "the great charter of Universal Redemption is the gospel, which will be found in the end what it was proclaimed in the beginning, Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will towards men." He brings a large number of passages from the sacred Scriptures to support his favorite doctrine, the most of which are now used, by Universalists, for the same purpose.

Many of the Bishop's arguments are stated with great precision and perspicuity; and the earnest-

ness with which he lays them down, evinces at once the strong interest which the subject possessed over his mind. But very few people, however, will now be satisfied with the manner in which he treats of the divine threatenings. To say nothing of his remarks upon the length of duration expressed by the words applied by the sacred writers to punishment, he was wrong in supposing that the threatening of this punishment was conditional. It was not in fact a threatening, so much as it was a direct denunciation upon those who had incurred, in justice, all that was threatened. "These *shall* go away into everlasting punishment," &c. The word *everlasting* does not throw a shadow of difficulty in the way of the future happiness of these people. The Jewish prophets had used the same language in reference to temporal judgments with which Israel had been visited; and as our Saviour gave no intimation that he used it in a different sense from what it possessed in the Jewish Scriptures, we ought to apply it to those judgments which were impending over the Jewish nation. The contexts of the passages irresistibly carry us to the same conclusion, and are an infallible guide to a right understanding of the subject.[2]

XXI. For learning, for an elaborate defence of Universalism, and in respect to the time in which

[2] There is an account of the Bishop, written by himself, in vol. i of his works. The above Dissertation is the last article in vol. iii. A review of the whole was published in the Monthly Review for 1783, into which the larger part of this Dissertation was extracted with sentiments of approbation.

he lived, Sir George Stonehouse may be ranked with Bishop Newton. He was educated at Oxford. His mind was very early impressed with the conviction of the truth of Universal Restitution; but by what particular means this was first called to his attention, we have no means of knowing. While at Oxford, he was a member of a society called the Holy Club, to which also John and Charles Wesley, the celebrated Whitfield, and James Hervey, author of the meditations, with several others, belonged. Between the years 1729 and 1735, the doctrine of Universalism was debated, with great interest, by them. John Wesley was president of the society, and he, with his brother, supported the merit of works. Whitfield and Hervey adopted the Calvinistic side of the question, others defended the tenets of the Moravians, but Stonehouse stood alone in the defence of Universal Restitution. As the arguments he had used with his different opponents had ever prevailed, they promised, if he would collect his thoughts together, they should receive a candid answer. This at first perhaps induced him to write, though he did not publish any thing on the subject until several years afterwards. He was a member of a religious society for the discussion of controverted points in theology, called "Burnham Society," in the county of Somerset, to which, in the latter part of his life, he presented the copy right of all his works.[3]

[3] It is supposed Toplady refers to this society, when he says to Mr. Wesley, "you formed a scheme of collecting as many perfect

About the year 1740, he left his splendid seat at Darnford, near Blenheim, in Oxfordshire, for the purpose of travelling, with the sole view of consulting the Syriac copies of the New Testament, in the different libraries in Europe, under the idea that our Lord delivered his discourses in Syriac, and not in Greek. During his peregrination he became, it is said, so great a proficient in the Syriac tongue, that he wrote a very copious grammar of that language, and was so indefatigable in his studies, that he qualified himself to translate readily any passage of the Bible into thirteen different languages.

His first and largest work, entitled "Universal Restitution a Scripture Doctrine," was published in 1761. Although this book surprized the learned world, it was never answered. On a visit from Mr. Wesley, Mr. Stonehouse said, "Ah, John, there are only you and I living out of us all." *W.* "Better you had died too, George, before you had written your book." *S.* "I expected you had eaten up my book at a mouthful, John; but neither you, nor any of the rest, though you all engaged to do it, have answered a single paragraph of it." *W.* "You must not think your book unanswerable on that account. I am able to answer it, but it would

sins as you could, to live under one roof. A number of these flowers were accordingly transplanted from some of your nursery beds, to the hot house. And an *hot* house it soon proved. For, would we believe it! the sinless people quarrelled in a short time, at so violent a rate, that you found yourself forced to disband the whole regiment." Teplady's Works, vol. v. p. 342.

take up so much of my time, that I could not answer it to God." Stonehouse did not understand this expedient, and he was considerably stung by Wesley's answer, which set him to writing Universal Restitution vindicated.[4]

He issued, at different times, three works on the subject of Universal Restitution. The first, above named,[5] is a series of letters on the nature and extent of Christ's kingdom, and on the present fallen condition of mankind. He commences with some very judicious observations on the true sense of the words *olem* and *aion*, and the distinction between them and *kosmos*, all promiscuously rendered *world;* by which he shows that *aion* ought not so to have been rendered, in the sense which the word *world* usually bears. In regard to his general subject he says, "what I have to advance upon this great truth, the Restitution of all things, will be drawn mostly from two considerations: 1. From a consideration of the kingdom of God to be established by divine management in the person of the God-man Christ Jesus; and 2. from a consideration of the present fallen nature and disposition of the creature; but more immediately

4 The account of Stonehouse is made out from a pamphlet entitled, "Pre-existence of Souls, and Universal Restitution, considered as Scripture doctrines, extracted from the minutes and correspondence of Burnham Society, in the county of Somerset." Taunton, 1798.

5 The whole title was, "Universal Restitution a Scripture doctrine. This proved in several Letters wrote on the nature and extent of Christ's kingdom; wherein the Scripture passages, falsely alleged in proof of the eternity of Hell Torments, are truly translated and explained." It is an octavo of 468 pages.

of the human soul."[6] The work entitled "Universal Restitution farther defended," is naturally divided into two parts. In the first, those passages which are relied on to disprove Universalism are taken up and explained; and in the second the proofs of that doctrine are given. These the author draws, 1. From the avowed purpose or counsel of Christ to restore all men. 2. From his express promise so to do. 3. From the expressions revealing and proclaiming the efficacy of the redeeming price paid for all men. 4. From the declared will of Christ to have all men restored. And 5. From his declared ability to effect the restitution of all men.[7]

It is a difficult matter to give an exact description of these works. The author appears to have held the doctrine of pre-existence, supposing that mankind were sent into this world, and that Adam was appointed their head, with a view to their recovery. In criticism he is abundant. Almost every page is loaded with Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Syriac or Chaldee, and sometimes they all appear on the same page; and these criticisms are carried to an extent which makes it difficult to excuse the author from the charge of being a pedant and hyper-

[6] Universal Restitution, a Scripture doctrine, edition of 1761.

[7] His works were as follows: Besides that which is named in the preceding note, Universal Restitution farther defended, 1768. Universal Restitution vindicated against the Calvinists, 1773. Evangelical History defended, in answer to Farmer's Inquiry. Apostolical Conceptions of God, in a series of Letters. A Second Part to the last Tract.

critic. Of his principal work the style is inelegant, and the subject is treated in rather a confused manner. Bishop Newton finds fault with it, and intimates that if it had been written with sufficient clearness, he should not have discussed the subject in his Essay on the final state of men.[8]

XXII. Our attention is, in the next place, arrested by an uncommon genius, who, in mere youth, astonished all his acquaintances with his stupendous abilities and acquirements. John Henderson was born in Ireland, in the year 1757. His father was an itinerant Methodist preacher, who for some time was settled near Bristol as a school master; and under him the son made such unusual progress in literature, that when a boy of eight, he taught Latin in Kingswood school, and Greek, at twelve, in Lady Huntingdon's college, at Trevecca, in Wales. These extraordinary powers arrested the attention of Dean Tucker, who sent him to Pembroke college, in Oxford, where he staid long enough to take his first degree. He was courted at the university for his great fund of knowledge, and for the inexhaustible resources of his mental faculties; and those who frequented his company often wondered at the displays of that genius, which adorned with all the flowers of oratory and elegant language, the most abstruse and barren subjects. It is said that his knowledge of Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Greek, Latin and Saxon, together with the

[8] His works, London edition of 1772, vol. iii. 731.

French, Spanish, Italian and German languages, was such that he could converse in them with ease and fluency. He was a man of strict morality, and showed a uniform respect for the principles of honor and justice. He died at Oxford, in Pembroke College, Nov. 2, 1788.

None of his works we believe have been given to the public, except a few miscellanies, and some letters to Dr. Priestley. The following extract will at once evince with what ardor he embraced and defended the doctrine of Universalism; but in what work it was originally published, we are unable to say. The argument will be found to be unanswerable.

"I lay it down as a maxim," says he, "to be doubted by few, and denied by none, that whosoever doth a thing, foreseeing the event thereof, willeth that event. If a parent send children into a wood wherein grow poisonous berries, and *certainly* knows they will eat of them, it is of no importance in the consideration of common sense, that he cautions, forbids, forewarns, or that they having *free will*, may avoid the poison. Who will not accuse him of their death in sending them into circumstances where he *fore-knew* it *would* happen? God fore-knows every thing—to his knowledge every thing is certain. Let us suppose him about to create twenty men—he knows ten of them (or any number) will become vicious, therefore damned, thence inherit the unceasing penalty. Who doubts in such a case, that He *wills* the end, who, being all-

mighty, and all-knowing, does that, without which it could not come to pass? But he hath sworn by himself, for he could *swear* by no greater, that he willeth not the death of him that dieth; that is, he willeth it not finally, or simply as death, or destruction irrevocable. And if it occur, it is a part of his economy of grace, a ministration unto life; for he hath declared that his will is, that *all should be saved;* therefore, the doctrine which forges a contrary will, falsifies supreme unchangeable truth."

"2. I lay it down as another indubitable maxim, that whatsoever is done by a Being of divine attributes, is attended by his goodness, conducted by his wisdom, and accomplished by his power, *to a good end.* Now all possible good ends may be enumerated under three words—HONOR—PLEASURE—BENEFIT; and every one to whom good can accrue from endless punishment, must be either *punisher*, *punished* or *fellow-creature* to the punished. Let us try every one of the former three, to each of the latter.

"1. *The punisher.* Would it be greater *honor* to the *punisher* to have his creatures forever miserable than happy? I will venture to say by proxy, for *every* heart, No. Would it be greater *pleasure?* No. And *benefit*, to him there can be none.

"2. *The punished.* Endless punishment can be neither *honor*, *pleasure*, nor *benefit* to them, though punishment on my scheme (for the purpose of producing repentance and reformation) will be of endless benefit.

"3. *The fellow-creatures* to the punished. It will be as *honorable* to them, as to have one of their family hanged! If they have *pleasure* in it, they must have a diabolical heart, and by the just searcher of hearts be committed to the place prepared for the devil and his angels. *Benefit*, they can have none, except safety; and that is fully answered by the great gulf, by confinement till the reformation.

"As, then, unceasing torments can answer no possible good to any one in the universe, I conclude them to be neither the will nor work of God. Could I suppose them, I must believe them to be inflicted by a wantoness or cruelty which words cannot express, nor heart conceive. But let this be the comfort of every humble soul, that known unto God are all his works—the Judge of *all* shall do right, and he ordereth *all* things well. It hath pleased him tc reconcile *all* things to himself. Therefore, to him shall *every* knee bow, and *every* tongue shall say, in the Lord I have strength, and I have righteousness."[9]

[9] The manner in which Dr. Drake introduces this passage, from whose work I have extracted it, shows him, beyond question, to have been a Universalist.

——————"That sin and torture," said he, "should be eternal, can neither accord with the justice nor the goodness of Deity; and that a being so loving to mankind, so melting soft to pity, as our Saviour is always delineated in Scripture, should in his divine nature throw off every particle of compassion, would appear to many and devout christians to convert the God they should adore and love, into a perfect demon. Fortunately, however, an opinion so repulsive is neither accordant with reason nor religion; and the following observations of the celebrated John Henderson, a man as pious as transcendant in intellectual ability, completely and unanswerably refute what every man whose heart is not adamant would wish to see refuted." Literary Hours, by Nathan Drake, M. D. London edition of 1820, vol. i. p. 298. 299.

XXIII. James Brown, D. D. was the author of a work entitled, the "Restitution of All Things,"[n] published in 1785. In the new Annual Register it is said to be, "an ingenious, liberal essay, worthy of attentive perusal." He was a clergyman of the Church of England. He was formerly appointed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, to a parish in Georgia; but when he arrived there, that part of the country was entirely in the hands of the Americans, then fighting for their independence, so that he never reached the place; but he was made chaplain to the garrison in Savannah, and afterwards to the British army, an office he long held on half pay. He returned at the conclusion of the war, and soon published the book now named, in which he styled himself, "late missionary to Georgia." He was living in July, 1818, in such health as to be able to do duty twice every Sabbath.

XXIV. William Matthews, was born at Milton, near Burford in Oxfordshire, Nov. 1, 1747. His father was a Quaker, and a man of liberal mind. The son spent a short time at London in the early part of his life, to acquire learning, after which he became a tutor in a school at Burford. In 1768, he opened a boarding school at Coggeshall, in Essex, in a large house, which was soon quite filled; but the close confinement thereof proving injurious to his health, he removed about 1775, to Bath, where

[n] This work I have never seen, nor have I ever fallen in with a full description of it. The account which I have given is found in the Monthly Repository, vol. xiii. p. 442.

he continued the remainder of his life. He officiated for some time as a religious teacher among the Friends; but growing too liberal for them, they expelled him. In 1786, he published the "Miscellaneous Companions." The first volume consists of an account of a short tour through a part of South Wales, containing many fine moral reflections. The second consists of "Miscellaneous Maxims and Thoughts." In the third volume, in which there is also a variety of subject, we find a treatise on everlasting punishment. This he expected would be violently opposed; but he had already suffered too much in restraining the freedom of his mind and opinions to withhold any longer, now that he was free from ecclesiastical despotism. He says, "I think it right to say in this place, that under my own full persuasion upon this subject, I could not with an easy mind avoid treating on it in the manner I have done. In my childhood I found it impossible to fix my belief in the common notion of endless torments; as I grew older, my sentiments occasionally became known. I was assailed, in consequence, by some few zealous and implicit believers among my friends, particularly by one, for whom, on account of his moral character, I had a considerable respect. And being under the common frailty of human nature, I was influenced for a short time, to doubt of my right to profess, even contractedly, my belief in the future dispensation of universal refinement from iniquity. In this interval, and at the instance of the person to whom I

allude, I was prevailed on to sign something like a condemnation of the freedom of my sentiments. But though this was not a declaration of my belief of a partial, ultimate salvation, I soon found condemnation of mind for my wavering and timidity, and I can truly say, that no other single circumstance of my whole life hath ever given me so much uneasiness. I am now cheered with the rational, scriptural, and, as I think, glorious doctrine of the punishment of divine justice being eventually subservient to an universal purification and fitness for heavenly habitations."

He published a work about 1800, entitled the Recorder, and in 1803 a second volume. It was mostly a selection of valuable articles on religion and liberality of feeling. In volume one, there is an article entitled, "Plain arguments from reason and Scripture against the presumptuous doctrine of endless punishment"; and several in favor of Universalism. The sixth article of volume two, consists of "Extracts and Reflections on the Scripture doctrine of Future Punishments." The extracts are principally from Stonehouse.

Towards the close of his life, he engaged again in the duties of a christian minister, and delivered a discourse twice in a month, at the Bath Penitentiary. He died April 12, 1815.[1]

[1] The account of Matthews has been taken from the Monthly Repository, the work of which I have made such frequent use. Those wishing further information, may consult the Monthly Magazine for May, 1816, et seq.

XXV. Francis Leicester, A. B. formerly of Peter House College, Cambridge, was some time curate of St. Thomas's Cliff, and of All Saints, Lewes. In 1788, he published two sermons, entitled "*Christ glorified in the salvation and restoration of all mankind.*" On page sixty-nine he says, "But the Scripture which crowns all, and the last which I shall bring into proof, is Revelations v. 13. Here all creation is at his feet, and that not with tears in their eyes, or petitions in their hands, not with crying and supplications, or weeping (like John, in chapter iv.) because things were hidden and kept secret; but with joy in their hearts, and praises in their mouths; with melody on their lips, and hallelujahs on their tongues; with looks and countenances full of satisfaction and delight; and their faces, instead of gathering blackness, turning into paleness, or being covered with shame and confusion (as once was the case with some of them) they all now shine as the sun, replete with light, life and love, full of ecstacy and rapture. And that because the book written within and on the backside, and sealed with seven seals, is now opened and unsealed, and all things revealed and explained: their own cases particularly unfolded to their view, with all the ways and means their loving Saviour took to bring them to the situation they now are in, with other miracles of grace and love, &c. Where then there is *universal praise and thanksgiving, universal harmony and love, and both heaven and earth sounding and resounding ac-*

clamations of joy and peace, there must be universal salvation."[2]

XXVI. There appeared in 1789, "An attempt to prove the Materiality of the Soul,"[2] by Edward Holmes, M. A. He was a clergyman, and the superior of Scorton School, at Newcastle, England. He endeavors, by a great variety of argument, to sustain the doctrine of the soul's materiality; and the work may perhaps be considered as plausible a dissertation in favor of that hypothesis, as any one of its size which has ever been published. He declares that the Scriptures point out the ultimate happiness of all men; but he held to a future limited punishment for those who died sinful, to fit them for the state of moral purity and happiness.

XXVII. Rev. Rochemont Barbauld was of French descent. He received the rudiments of his education at home. Although intended by his father for the Church of England, he was placed at the Dissenting academy of Warrington, a very flourishing seminary, to which many young men were sent who were intended for the church, that they might avoid the expense and hazard to morals of an education at the university. After finishing his studies here, he candidly discussed with his father every argument in favor of entering the establishment; but he was fixed in what he thought to be the truth; and as he was too ingenuous and sincere to accept of those subterfuges by which many

[2] See the Universalist Miscellany, by Vidler, vol. i. pp. 183—185.

content themselves to officiate in a church whose doctrines they do not believe, he entered the ministry among the Dissenters. He first preached for about a year to a small congregation at High Gate; but in 1774, upon his marriage with the daughter of Dr. Aiken, Divinity Tutor at Warrington, he removed to Palgrave, a village in Suffolk, and accepted the charge of the neighboring congregation of Dissenters in Norfolk. Here he taught a very flourishing school. Eleven years after he removed to Hampstead, thence to Stoke Newington, where he continued till just before his death. He is said to have been a great friend to unbiased inquiry, a man very actively benevolent, of a spirit free and undaunted, of a winning simplicity and natural enthusiasm.

His widow bore testimony that "he was a believer in the pre-existence of Christ, and, in a certain, modified sense, in the atonement." "Of the moral perfections of the Deity he had the purest and most exalted ideas; on these was chiefly founded his system of religion, and these, together with his own benevolent nature, led him to embrace so warmly, his favorite doctrine of the final salvation of all the human race." "He preached many sermons on this doctrine, which he defended both in the pulpit and in conversation, with a zeal and enthusiasm, which his congregation and his friends cannot but well remember." His knowledge of the French language was thorough. He used it occasionally in preaching, as he composed in French and English

with equal facility. His labor in converting Dr. John Prior Estlin to a belief of Universalism, is not to be regarded among the least of the benefits he confered on liberal christianity. He died Nov. 11, 1808, aged 60.[3]

We do not entertain the hope of doing justice to the talents, the acquirements, or the virtues of his accomplished lady. For every thing amiable in private life, for the richness of her imagination, the purity of her style, the extent of her acquirements, for her poetic talents, and the moral tendency of all her writings, Anna Letitia Barbauld is deserving a high rank. Blessed with a learned, pious and tender father, her mind was early formed to virtue and religion; and her husband, in whom she saw zeal without ostentation, mildness without timidity, warmth in the defence of his sentiments without rashness, and enthusiasm unaccompanied by superstition, contributed probably not a little to the formation of her own excellent character. Nor can there exist any doubt, that the ardor with which he embraced the doctrine of Universalism, would lead her to examine the subject with great candor, which, in such a mind as her's, would soon produce conviction of its truth. In speaking of the causes of gloom which has too long hung over christian worshipping assemblies, she says,

"Above all, it would be desirable to separate from religion that idea of gloom, which in this country has but too generally accompanied it. The fact

[3] See a Memoir of him in the Monthly Repository, written by Mrs. Barbauld.

cannot be denied ; the cause must be sought, partly in our national character, which I am afraid is not naturally either very cheerful or very social, and which we shall do well to meliorate by every possible attention to our habits of life ; and partly to the color of our religious systems. No one who embraces the common idea of future torments, together with the doctrine of election and reprobation, the insufficiency of virtue to escape the wrath of God, and the strange absurdity which, it should seem, through similarity of sound alone, has been admitted as an axiom, that sins committed against an infinite Being do therefore deserve infinite punishment, no one, I will venture to assert, can believe such tenets, and have them often in his thoughts, and yet be cheerful."

"Let those who hold such tenets consider, that the invisible Creator has no name, and is identified only by his character ; and they will tremble to think *what* Being they are worshiping, when they invoke a power capable of producing existence, in order to continue it in never-endnig torments. The God of the Assembly's Catechism is not the *same* God with the Deity of Thompson's Seasons, and of Hutcheson's Ethics. Unity of character, in what we adore, is much more essential than unity of person.[4] We

[4] Mrs. Barbauld seems here to refer to the comparative importance of the two doctrines, Universalism and Unitarianism. However true and however important the doctrine of the Divine Unity, it certainly is a fact, that so far as regards the present happiness and welfare of mankind, Universalism, which presents the prospect of the termination of all evil, and holds up to man a God whom he can love, is the more important sentiment of the two, and of all others the most important. If God be such a being as he is represented in the mirror of Cal-

often boast, and with reason, of the purity of our religion, as opposed to the grossness of the theology of the Greeks and Romans; but we should remember that cruelty is as much worse than licentiousness, as a Moloch is worse than a Satyr."

"The mild spirit of Christianity has, no doubt, had its influence in softening the ferocity of the Gothic times; and the increasing humanity of the present period will, in its turn, produce juster ideas of Christianity, and diffuse through the solemnities of our worship, the celebration of our Sabbaths, and every observance connected with religion, the spirit of amenity and sweetness, which is the offspring of literature, and the peaceful intercourse of society. The age which has demolished dungeons, rejected torture, and given so fair a prospect of abolishing the iniquity of the slave trade, cannot long retain among its articles of belief, the gloomy perplexities of Calvinism, and the heart-withering perspective of cruel and never-ending punishments."[5]

XXVIII. The Church of England furnished yet another zealous defender of Universalism in the latter part of the XVIII century, who wrote a treatise specially on that point. He was the Rev. John Brown, M. A. of Sidney Sussex College, in Cambridge. His work was entitled, "*An Essay on Uni-*

vinistic theology, or any theology which includes the tenet of endless torment, it matters but little to us whether his nature is comprised in a unity of person, a duality, or trinity. The question of primary importance is, what are his disposition and purpose in relation to man? Compared with this question, all others are of secondary interest.

[5] See Mrs. Barbauld's reply to Wakefield's Inquiry.

versal Redemption; tending to prove that the general sense of Scripture favors the opinion of the final salvation of all mankind." He considers the genuine import of the words and phrases which are thought to prove the endless duration of punishment, which he contends do not necessarily bear that sense. He touches upon the usual topics of argument by which Universalism has been defended, and animadverts also upon the doctrine of annihilation.[e]

XXIX. We have now come to the fourth general head of this chapter, under which we propose to show the extent to which Universalism has prevailed among the Unitarians of England. The doctrine of the Divine Unity has been embraced by different individuals at different times ever since the Reformation; but it is only about a half century since its advocates set up a separate worship, and were known as a distinct denomination. Their congregations in England now amount to three or four hundred. The belief of Universalism among them is coeval with their existence as a sect. Some have considered it of more, others of less importance; but it is highly probable that nine in ten, both of clergy and laity, reject altogether the doctrine of endless misery, and embrace that of the eventual restoration of all men, to order, holiness and happiness. By some the doctrine is allowed, but not contended for; by others it is received as a

[e] See Universalist Miscellany, by Vidler, vol. iii. p. 81, 82. Also Adam's Religious World Displayed, Philadelphia edition, 1818, vol. iii. p. 387.

doctrine the Scriptures do not oppose, but which is not explicitly revealed; by a third class it is embraced as a Scriptural doctrine, taught by prophets, by the Saviour, by the apostles, and made the subject of plain and absolute promise. In regard to authors, some casually mention it with slight expressions of approbation; others speak of it with rapture, and all that warmth of feeling it is itself so well calculated to inspire. Here the defence of it constitutes the paragraph of a discourse; there it is the subject of a whole sermon; then again of a series of discourses; and, in a few instances, of elaborate treatises. The periodical publications of this denomination abound with arguments *pro et contra*, and with articles partaking of all the variety of feeling of both its friends and opponents.

XXX. Pre-eminent in the history of Unitarianism in England, stands the mild, sincere and amiable Theophilus Lindsey, who, for his early avowal of the tenets of the denomination of which we speak, or the sacrifices he made in the cause of truth, for his successful endeavors to establish a regular Unitarian congregation in London, and for his repeated and zealous defences of Unitarian doctrines, is worthy to be called, the Father of that denomination in England. He was at first a minister of the established church, and was possessed of a rich living; but this he cheerfully resigned, rather than perform worship which recognized the doctrine of the trinity. With a worthy consort, who shared in his hopes and privations, he journeyed from the par-

ish in which he had labored as a minister of the establishment to London, where he laid the foundation, and reared up the Essex-street congregation, to whom he ministered until induced by old age to resign his office as their pastor.

After his removal to London, he published several valuable works, the principal of which were his "Historical View of the state of the Unitarian Doctrine and worship," "Examination of Mr. Robinson's plea for the Divinity of Christ," "Conversations on Christian Idolatry," and "Conversations on the Divine Government." It is in this last work that we find him explicitly avowing and defending his belief of Universal Salvation. The conversations, holden by fictitious characters, were intended to show that *every thing is from God, and for good to all.* By Photinus the author represents himself. He contends that all things, good as well as what we call evil, are appointed by infinite wisdom and benevolence, for the wisest and most gracious purposes; that God would not have permitted sin, but for some good purpose. In the conclusion, he speaks of the doctrine of eternal torments, as "a mill stone which some mistaken christians hang about the neck of the gospel." He states that the words, *eternal, everlasting, forever*, and the like, generally signify limited periods of duration; and introduces a pertinent quotation from Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man, in which that great philosopher es-

tablishes the important and interesting doctrine of *the ultimate happiness of all mankind.*[7]

XXXI. Next to Mr. Lindsey we must give place to the renowned Dr. Priestley. For industry in the pursuit of knowledge, and for fearlessness in inquiry and in the avowal of his opinions, no one exceeded him. Not only as a divine, but as an explorer of the sciences of electricity, chemistry and metaphysics, he is known throughout Europe and America. Among the Unitarians he sustained an elevated rank. His inquiries into the opinions of the primitive christians, his labor in pointing out the corruptions of Christianity, his defences of Unitarian views against their most exalted and bitter opponents, justify us in describing him as one of the pillars of the Unitarian denomination. To give even a catalogue of his publications, would swell this paragraph beyond the limits to which it must be confined. Nor is it necessary to be explicit, since concerning so great a man, all the usual sources of biography will furnish full accounts. Let ours be the task only to particularize those points which may be neglected by others, and which agree more closely with the design of this work.

He believed in the infinite goodness of God, and consequently that the system of things which God had adopted, was the best, and most conducive to general and individual good; that he had appointed sin and guilt to exist for the wisest and most be-

7 See Memoirs of Lindsey, by T. Belsham, London, 1812, pp. 426—427.

nevolent of purposes, and that all we call evil is necessary to produce the greatest sum of good to the system at large. He did not consider the appointment of evil as any thing criminal. He could see no difference with respect to criminality, between *doing* and *permitting* what might be prevented, even with respect to men, much less with respect to the Deity. If God had the best reasons for *permitting* a thing, they would sufficiently justify him in *appointing* it. It was a constant source of great consolation to him, that all things existed and moved on harmoniously to produce universal good, by the Divine appointment and direction.

With the doctrine of Necessity, he connected that of ultimate universal happiness, and he seemed to think the latter a concomitant of the former. That God should make man a sinner on purpose to make him eternally miserable, was a thought at which his benevolent heart revolted. He therefore showed that the doctrine of Necessity is not inseparably connected with the Calvinistic hypothesis. He clung to the system of Universal Restitution as his means of defending God's goodness in appointing the existence of what we call evil. And as a very strong proof that he not only believed this doctrine, but considered it a very important one, and derived great consolation from it, we may mention an anecdote which his son has recorded concerning him. On the day before he died he was conversing with his son on the importance of reading the Scriptures daily, and the pleasure which

such a practice afforded. He desired him to reach a pamphlet which lay at the head of the bed. It was the work of John Simpson, of Bath, against the doctrine of eternal punishment. "*It will be a source of great satisfaction to you to read this pamphlet,*" said he. "*It contains my sentiments, and a belief in them will be a support to you in the most trying circumstances, as it has been to me. We shall all meet finally: we only require different degrees of discipline, suited to our different tempers, to prepare us for final happiness.*" One of his friends coming into the room, he said, "You see, sir, I am still living." It was replied to him that he would always live. "Yes," said he, "I believe I shall; and we shall all meet again in another and a better world." This he said with great animation.[8]

A writer very well acquainted with him says, "He rejected the horrid criterion of Calvinistic theology, the doctrine of election and reprobation, and its concomitant, the eternal duration of future punishment. Indeed he had no notion of punishment as such, in the common acceptation of the term. The design of the Creator, in his opinion, was the ultimate happiness of all his creatures by the means best fitted to produce it. If pain and misery be the consequence of vice, here or hereafter, it is nevertheless an instance of God's fatherly kindness toward the creature who suffers it, because that suffering is absolutely necessary to erad-

[8] Memoirs of Priestley, Northumberland edition, i. 217, 218.

icate the dispositions that obstruct the progress of improvement in knowledge and virtue, and close all the avenues to real happiness. Punishment, therefore, is not inflicted with the slightest tincture of revenge, but as a necessary means of qualifying the sinner for a better state of existence, which his present propensities disqualify him from enjoying. It is not the effect of anger in an irritated and avenging tyrant as the abominable tenets of orthodoxy would induce us to think of the Deity, but it is the *medecina mentis* administered for our good by the Physician of Souls. Nor have we any reason to believe that it is greater in degree, or longer in duration, than is necessary to produce the beneficial effect for which it is inflicted. It is that sort of punishment which a kind but wise parent, inflicted on a beloved child.

At one time, indeed, he seems to have entertained the opinion that annihilation might possibly be the lot of the wicked: but deeper reflection, and the fair results deducible from his metaphysical as well as his theological system, altered his opinion. Trusting, therefore, to that pre-eminent and delightful attribute of the Deity—that attribute to which wisdom and power are but the handmaids, the Divine *Benevolence*, he did not doubt but the ultimate result of the system would be permanent happiness to every intelligent being it embraces, though through different trials, at different periods, and perhaps in different degrees. This doctrine he

found as conformable to the Scriptures as it is to just notions of the goodness of God; and it seems to furnish a glorious exposition of that cheering passage, 'GOD IS LOVE.'"[9]

When Dr. P. had delivered at Philadelphia the first volume of his discourses relating to the evidences of revealed religion, he thought it became him, as a man of sincerity and candor, to give some account of his own particular tenets, which he did in a sermon entitled, "Unitarianism explained and defended, in a discourse delivered at the Church of the Universalists at Philadelphia, 1796." He concluded this sermon "with giving his assent in the fullest manner to the opinion of the final happiness of all the human race, maintained by the minister and congregation in whose place of worship he delivered this discourse." To use his own words, "Having given this account of my faith with respect to articles of the greatest secondary importance, I shall take the liberty (especially as I have been indulged with the opportunity of pleading what I believe to be the cause of truth in this place) to express my concurrence with the minister, and the congregation worshipping here, in their opinion concerning the final happiness of all the human race, a doctrine eminently calculated to promote alike gratitude to God, and consequently every other virtue; and since this doctrine is perfectly consistent with the belief of the adequate punishment of

[9] Ubi supra, ii. 476—478.

sin,[o] it is far from giving any encouragement to sinners."[1]

XXXII. Dr. John Jebb, who, like Lindsey, gave up his preferments in the Church of England, to deliver himself from what he called "a worse than Egyptian bondage," and who afterwards made choice of the profession of medicine, must be ranked among the most eminent of the English Unitarians. His views of punishment, as it has been generally held up, are expressed in the form of "Theological Propositions and Miscellaneous Observations," as follows:

"Future punishments, as considered by our Divines, are a kind of transportation, where the sufferings are horrible, but afford no useful documents.

Better to consider the future state, not as a state of reward and punishment, properly so called; but

[o] Dr. Priestley seems at one time to have given up the doctrine of future punishment. The following is a quotation from his "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever" "As the pains and mortifications of our infant state, are the natural means of lessening the pains and mortifications of advanced life, *so I made it appear to the satisfaction of Dr. Hartley*, in the short correspondence I had with him, that his theory furnishes pretty fair presumptions, that the pains of this life may suffice for the whole of our future existence, we having now resources enough for a perpetual increase in happiness, without any assistance from the sensation of future pain. This speculation will probably appear before the public in due time, together with other observations relating to the extension and application of this wonderfully simple theory of the mental affections." Mr. Rutt, who published in England, a complete set of Dr. P's works, expressed his regret, that, owing to the destruction of the Dr's library and MSS. by the Birmingham mob, we have been deprived of his arguments in support of the opinion contained in the passage above. See "Letters to a Philosophical Unbeliever," Birmingham, 1787, p. 92, 93.

[1] Discourses on the evidences of Revealed Religion, delivered in the church of the Universalists at Philadelphia, 8vo. 1796.

as states which will be happy or miserable by natural consequence, as we behave here. This life is not wanting in rewards and punishments. Punishment is the annexing something over and above the natural consequence of an action. But this addition, let Divines say what they please, obtains not in the future state."

"Intolerants, and persons who maintain eterna punishment and atonement, are more unfit for society than atheists. This the judgment of some."

XXXIII. John Simpson received his academica education under Dr. Aiken, and afterwards removed to the University of Glasgow. He imbibed early an insatiable thirst for theological knowledge; and the attention he gave to this science during the course of his instruction both at the academy and the university, qualified him as one of the soundest and most judicious of divines. It was a source of rejoicing to him to the end of life, that he had been led so early to the studies belonging to the ministerial profession, and especially that he had been enabled to pursue theological truth, without being biassed by worldly interest. He was settled at Bath, where he resided, useful, happy and respected, until his death, which took place, Aug. 18th, 1812. His talent for preaching was respectable, but he was eminent principally as an author. Among the several works which he published, his "View of the Internal and Presumptive Evidence

[2] Works of Dr. Jebb, London, 1786, vol. ii. pp. 152, 155.

of Christianity," and his "Essays on the language of Scripture," have been held in the highest esteem. The former was said, in the Bath Chronicle, to be a masterly performance, in merit and value to be ranked with the works of Taylor, Locke, Lardner, Clarke and Paley. The latter for the mode and temper of investigation, the solid learning, for ingenuity and even originality, and the genuine reverence for Scripture which it exhibits, will receive a place in the library of every liberal minded man, who becomes acquainted with it."[3] This work is, what its title imports, essays *on the language of Scripture*, and they necessarily embrace different subjects; as the duration of future punishment; the true sense of the words rendered 'satan,' 'devil,' 'Heaven,' 'angel,' 'archangel,' 'cherub,' 'seraph,' &c. The essay on the duration of future punishment is, of itself, sufficient to settle the controversy on this question. By a very clear and methodical arrangement of the passages in which the words signifying duration occur, the author shows their true senses. The following is the classification of *aion* and *aionios*. 1. Those passages in which *aion* is applied exclusively to the present life. 2. Those in which *aion* and *aionios* are used for past limited duration. 3. Those in which they are applied to future limited duration. 4. Those in which they signify duration without end. 5. Those where they signify duration without beginning and with-

[3] Month. Repos. vol. ix. pp. 80—86.

out end. He infers from the different senses in which these words are used, that no conclusion can be fairly drawn from them in favor of endless punishment, and that the extent of duration must be determined by the nature of the subject, by other expressions, and by those parts of Scripture which illustrate the meaning of these terms. Besides this, he notices all the other words applied to punishment, and infers from the manner in which the sacred writers use them, that they countenance neither endless misery nor annihilation. This is the work to which Dr. Priestley refered in his last moments, as already mentioned.[4]

XXXIV. But we have not room to particularize the members of a sect who, with very few exceptions, agreed in embracing the doctrine of ultimate Universal Salvation. All its principal members, among whom, in addition to those already named, we may mention Kenrick, Wright, Estlin, Belsham, Carpenter, Aspland, Grundy, Scott, Fox, Harris, and many others, have rendered great service to the cause of truth, in maintaining that God is infinitely good, and that all his dispensations are founded in mercy. Mr. Kenrick is known as the author of an "Exposition of the Historical Writings of the New Testament." Until near the close of his life, he believed in the annihilation of the wicked; but at last he was fully convinced that this doctrine

[4] These Essays were published at different times. The first, on future rewards and punishments, appeared in 1803. They were afterwards collected and issued in two octavo volumes.

was unsupported by any of the declarations of Christ or his apostles; "and he thought, in common with many excellent and learned men, that even the intensest sufferings of the transgressor will be corrective and remedial, and issue finally in universal order, happiness and virtue."[5] John Prior Estlin, LL.D. was early convinced of the truth of final and universal happiness, by the labors of Rev. Rochemont Barbauld; and after preaching the doctrine with great energy and effect for several years, he, at last, gave the world a series of discourses on the subject, which abound with truth, sustained by clear and forcible argument. This is one of the principal publications in defence of this theory, which has, of late, appeared in England, and deserves a place at the side of such works as Simpson's Essays, and Smith on the Divine Government.[6] Richard Wright stands high as a defender of Universal Restoration. It was his distinguishing sentiment. He was at first pastor of a congregation of Universalists in Wisbeach,[7] and during his residence here he issued a small work,

5 See Exposition, &c. Boston edition, 1828, vol. i. p. 6.

6 A Memoir of Dr. Estlin may be found in the Monthly Repository, vol. xii. pp. 573—5. His volume of sermons is entitled, "Discourses on Universal Restitution, delivered to the Society of Dissenters in Lewin's Mead, Bristol. By John Prior Estlin, LL.D. London, 1813."

7 In the preface to all the latter editions of Winchester's Dialogues, there will be found several letters from ministers in England to Mr. Winchester, sent to him while he was in London. One is dated Wisbeach, Oct. 26, 1788, and is signed by Henry Poole, who professed to believe in Universal Restoration, and who said to Mr. W., "My house, my heart, and my *pulpit*, will all be open to receive you, provided you will visit us in this part of the world." It is not unlikely,

entitled *the eternity of Hell torments indefensible.*[8] This was written in reply to Dr. Ryland's sermon against Universalism, which bore the modest title, *the first lie refuted*, in allusion to the oft repeated assertion, that the Serpent preached this doctrine in the garden of Eden. How long Mr. Wright resided in Wisbeach, we have no means of knowing. He was for several years employed as a missionary, and in that capacity preached Unitarianism in different parts of England. His life has been one continual scene of labor, in the cause he ardently espoused. Dr. Lant Carpenter, universally regarded as a man of stern devotion to truth, and of great learning and prudence, will be found to have defended Universalism, in his reply to the rancorous work of Dr. Magee. He says, "Most of us, (Unitarians) however, believe that a period will come to each individual, when punishment shall have done its work, when the awful sufferings with which the Gospel threatens the impenitent and disobedient, will have humbled the stubborn, purified the polluted, and eradicated malignity, impiety, hypocrisy, and every evil disposition; that a period will come, (which it may be the unspeakable bliss of those who enter the joy of their Lord, to accelerate, which, at least, it will be their delight to anticipate,) when he who "must reign till he hath put *all enemies* under his

that it was to the congregation over which Mr. Poole was settled, that Mr. Wright afterwards ministered.

[8] See Evans' Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World, Boston edition of 1807, p. 226.

feet," "shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power." "The LAST ENEMY, Death, shall be DESTROYED." "Every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," "who wills that all men should be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth," that truth which sanctifies the heart, that knowledge which is life eternal: and God shall be ALL IN ALL."

"In my judgment," continues the Dr. "this belief has its origin in the soundest notions we can form of the ends of punishment, and the most just and enlarged views of the perfections and dealings of God which we can derive from nature and revelation; while it is opposed by no clear declarations of the gospel, and is sanctioned by some which appear incapable of complete accomplishment while sin and misery remain in the moral creation."[9]

Rev. Robert Aspland, for many years sole editor of the Monthly Repository, has evinced in that work, the strong interest he felt in the progress of just views of the Divine character, and of the final destiny of man. "We rejoice in the fact," says he, "that the Unitarians are *universally* agreed in rejecting the doctrine of endless torments; but we do not exactly see how Unitarianism is more incompatible with that dogma than with the notion of the final destruction of the wicked, for which some of the most able and zealous Unitarians have been

[9] Carpenter's Reply to Magee, Bristol, 1820, pp. 42—45.

eager advocates. In truth, we are disposed to believe that the New Testament does teach the doctrine of *indefinite*, though not, properly speaking, eternal punishment. And may not the jarring systems of christians be reconciled, and the letter of the New Testament interpreted agreeably to its spirit, by the supposition that the period to which the Christian Scriptures refer beyond the grave, is bounded, though by limits which are as yet hidden from our view, that there will be an *age* of retribution, and that during the whole extent of that age, (i. e. in scriptural language, *forever*) the wicked will be in a state of privation and dishonor. Beyond this age revelation may not be designed to carry us; but by asserting the perfect character of the Almighty Ruler, it furnishes sufficient ground for a belief that the righteous will continue progressively happy, and for *hope* that the wicked, purified by retributive discipline, will be prepared for restoration to the visible favor of God." "For ourselves," he adds, in another place, "we regard the doctrine of endless punishment as so utterly incompatible both with the goodness and justice of God, that we think it ought not to be received upon any evidence whatever. To affirm that the Almighty will render any of his creatures miserable to all eternity, and especially, when those creatures, like mankind, are frail and ignorant, and exposed to numerous temptations, is but saying, in other words, that he is neither merciful nor just; and to such a doctrine

what evidence ought to obtain our assent? It can scarcely be reprobated in terms sufficiently strong.

The final destruction of the wicked, though not so absurd and impious a doctrine as the other, does by no means reflect equal lustre on the divine attributes with that of their ultimate recovery from sin and misery. For what purpose, may we ask the Destructionists, are the wicked to be raised from the dead? to gratify the compassionate and the forgiving, with a view of their merited sufferings, or to satiate the vengeance of him who is infinitely more merciful and compassionate than any other being?"[9]

The successor of Mr. Lindsey at Essex-street, London, Rev. Thomas Belsham, has been no less ardent in the defence of Universalism, than the venerable confessor himself. It has run through nearly all his writings. He will be found to have maintained it particularly in his Reply to Wilberforce's Treatise, and also in the following extract from his biography of Mr. Lindsey.

"The true solution of the first difficulty, whether God be the author of sin? appears to be this: that God is, strictly speaking, the author of evil; but that in the first place, he never ordains or permits evil but with a view to the production of a greater good, which could not have existed without it. And secondly, that though God is the author of evil both natural and moral, he is not the approver of

[9] Month. Repos. iv. 341.

evil; he does not delight in it for its own sake; it must be the object of his aversion, and what he would never permit or endure, if the good he intends could have been accomplished without it. As to the second question, concerning the justice of punishment, the best and only philosophical solution of it is, that under the divine government all punishment is remedial. Moral evil is the disease, punishment is the process of cure, of greater or less intensity, and of longer or shorter duration, in proportion to the malignancy and inveteracy of the distemper; but ultimately of sovereign efficacy under the divine government to operate a perfect cure; so that those whose vices have been the means of proving, purifying, and exalting the virtues of others, shall, in the end, share with them in their virtue and their triumph, and the impartial justice and infinite benevolence of the Divine Being, will be made known, adored and celebrated to all eternity, through the whole created universe."[1]

We will weary the reader with but a few more particular references. Rev. John Grundy will be found an ardent advocate of Universalism in his two volumes of sermons,[2] Rev. Russell Scott in his series of lectures,[3] Rev. George Harris, in his sermons deliv-

1 Memoirs of Theophilus Lindsey, by Thomas Belsham, London, 1812, p. 423, 424.

2 "Evangelical Christianity considered, and shown to be synonimous with Unitarianism, in a course of Lectures on some of the most controverted points of Christianity, addressed to Trinitarians. By John Grundy, one of the ministers to the congregation assembling in the Chapel in Cross-street, Manchester. London, 1813."

3 "An Analytical Investigation of the Scriptural claims of the Devil; to which is added an explanation of the terms *Sheol*, *Hades*,

ered before the congregation of Unitarians worshipping in Renshaw-street, in Liverpool,[4] the well known and highly respected Dr. Cogan,[5] and Rev. W. J. Fox, minister of a Unitarian Society in London, who carried on a controversy in several numbers of the Monthly Repository, maintaining that doctrine *as a doctrine clearly revealed in the Scriptures.* From the extracts we have presented from the very best writers among the English Unitarians, there cannot remain a doubt, that they *universally* reject the doctrine of endless misery, and *generally* embrace that of the ultimate reconciliation of all men to God.

XXXV. The favor with which the leading Unitarians in England regarded the doctrine of Universalism, is manifested in the "Improved Version," so called, of the New Testament. This is on the basis of Archbishop Newcome's translation, though there are variations from it; but in every such instance the editors of the Improved Version have signified the same, that they might not attribute

and *Gehenna*, as employed by the Scripture writers: in a series of Lectures delivered at Portsmouth in the months of October, November and December, 1820; and January, February and March, 1821." See pages 3, 202, 643. See also Monthly Repository, vol. xviii. p. 651, 722.

4 "Unitarianism and Trinitarianism contrasted, in a course of Lectures, delivered in the Unitarian Chapel, Renshaw-street, Liverpool, on Sunday evenings, during the winter season of 1819–20. By George Harris." London, 1820. pp. 304—337. 514—522.

5 "Theological Disquisitions," London, 1813, vol. ii. pp. 331—439. The author has devoted above an hundred pages to the doctrine of Universalism, though he has offered little that is new on this subject.

to the Primate their own opinions. This Version was undertaken and published by the London Unitarian Society for the promotion of religious knowledge by the distribution of books. At its annual meeting in 1806, a committee was appointed, consisting of all the ministers who were members of the society, together with some gentlemen of the laity, to carry the intentions of the society into effect with all convenient despatch.[6] The sentiments of a work prepared and sent forth by such a committee, may justly be considered as the sentiments of the English Unitarians generally at the time of its appearance. Of the merits of the Version it is not necessary that we speak; and in proof that the committee who prepared it were Universalists, it is sufficient that we refer to the notes on the following texts: Matt. xxv. 46.[7] Rom. v. 19.[8] 1 Cor. xv.

[6] See introduction to the Improved Version. Those who wish to be more fully acquainted with the persons by whom the design of this Version was conceived, may consult Belsham's Memoirs of Lindsey, London, 1812, pp. 454—472.

[7] "The word here rendered *punishment*, properly signifies correction inflicted for the benefit of the offender. And the word translated *everlasting*, is often used to express a long but indefinite duration. Rom. xvi. 2; 2 Tim. i. 9; Philemon, ver. 15. This text, therefore, so far from giving countenance to the harsh doctrine of eternal misery, is rather favorable to the more pleasing, and more probable hypothesis, of the ultimate restitution of the wicked to virtue and happiness. See Simpson's Essay on Future Punishments."

[8] "Though the construction of this paragraph is intricate and obscure, nothing can be more obvious than this, that it is the apostle's intention to represent all mankind, without exception, as deriving greater benefit from the mission of Christ, than they suffered injury from the fall of Adam. The universality of the apostle's expressions is very remarkable. The same "many," who were made sinners by the disobedience of one, are made righteous by the obedience of the other. If *all men* are condemned by the offence of one, the same *all*

22.[8] Rev. xiv. 11.[9] xx. 10.[1] An edition of this work has been republished at Boston, and is approved by the principal Unitarians of the United States.

are justified by the righteousness of the other. These universal terms, so frequently repeated, and so variously diversified, cannot be reconciled to the limitation of the blessings of the gospel to the elect alone, or to a part only of the human race. Compare 1 Cor. xv. 22, 23."

[8] "It is also to be observed, that all, without exception, who die in Adam, will participate in this glorious and happy resurrection by Christ. *Not*, indeed, all at the same time, but each in his own order. First, Christ; afterwards all virtuous persons and true believers, at his second coming; lastly, cometh the end, the grand consummation of all things, when all his enemies shall be put under his feet, and all things shall be subdued to him: that is, when all natural and moral evil shall be exterminated, and death shall be swallowed up in victory. This is that glorious issue of the divine administration to which the gospel encourages us to look forward, and for which it is intended to qualify and prepare all who practically embrace it. 'Blessed and holy is he who hath part in the first resurrection; on such the second death hath no power.'"

[9] "It would be very unreasonable to infer the gloomy doctrine of eternal misery from the loose and figurative language of a prophetic vision, in opposition to the plainest dictates of reason and justice, and to the whole tenor of divine revelation. But if any one is disposed to lay undue stress upon this text, it may be sufficient to remark, that it is not here asserted that the *torment* continues, but that the *smoke* of it ascends forever and ever. The smoke of a pile in which a criminal has been consumed, may continue to ascend long after the wretched victim has ceased to suffer. And a memorial of the punishment which has been inflicted on vice may remain long after vice itself has been utterly exterminated. After all, as the prophecy relates wholly to states of things in the present world, the punishments threatened ought, in all reason, to be understood of temporal punishments, and not of the sufferings of a future life. So in Jude, ver. 7, Sodom and Gomorrah are represented as suffering the vengeance of eternal fire, i. e. of a temporal calamity, a fire which completely destroyed them."

[1] "Gr. ages of ages. This text has also been alleged, but with little reason, in favor of what has justly been called the *heart-withering* doctrine of eternal torments. See chap. xiv. 11. and the note there. The persons who are here said to be tormented forever and ever, are not real, but figurative, and symbolical persons, the devil, the beast, and the false prophet. The place, therefore, the kind, and duration of their torment, must also be figurative. The meaning seems to be, that all the corruptions of the Christian religion, as well as all heathen idolatry and the spirit of persecution, shall be totally and forever ex-

XXXVI. Previously to closing this department of our work, we may observe, that the periodical publications of this class of christians have partaken largely of the zeal and interest with which they have defended Universalism. The Theological Repository, conducted by Dr. Priestley, was always characterized by bold and adventurous criticism, though we find no defence of Universalism in its columns. In the year 1806, the Monthly Repository was commenced, of which upwards of twenty volumes have been published. It was begun on the principle of unrestricted inquiry, which character its editors pledged it never should forfeit. It has ever been a highly useful and entertaining Magazine; all parties have been permitted to defend their sentiments in it; for reviews, for biographical and historical sketches, and for biblical criticism, it has been long and justly prized. We confess, with pleasure, that we have derived more assistance from this work in relation to the History of Universalism, than from any other. The Christian Reflector, a smaller work, published at Liverpool, has contained some fine articles in defence of Universalism. The same may be said of the Christian Reformer, at Hackney, under the care of Rev. Robert Aspland, which has been continued for sev-

terminated. And pure and undefiled christianity, in its spirit and in all its power, shall every where prevail, and produce universal peace and harmony and happiness. This is the true advent of Christ. And to the promise of his speedy appearance for these glorious purposes, what benevolent heart can refuse to adopt the response of the prophet, 'Amen. Come, Lord Jesus.' "

eral years. Here may be found a tolerable account of the American Universalists,[2] made up by its industrious editor from the seven first volumes of the Universalist Magazine, and other American publications, forwarded him from Boston in the fall of 1826. All these works have maintained a high character, and are worthy a place in the library of all friends of free inquiry and lovers of uncorrupted Christianity.[3]

[2] Vol. xiii. 73—75. 87—107. 174—182. 253—266
[3] See Universalist Magazine, vol. v. p. 98.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISTS IN ENGLAND, AS A DISTINCT DENOMINATION.

I. Having finished the history of the prevalence of Universalism among various sects and individuals, it devolves on us now to take notice of the Universalists in England as a distinct denomination. They will be found to have arisen in two separate bodies, agreeing indeed in their opinion of the final happiness of all mankind, but coming to this result by different processes of reasoning, and maintaining a diversity of opinion on other principal points, which appears to have prevented their taking a common bond of fellowship.

II. In this part of our subject James Relly claims an early attention. He commenced his ministerial career in Mr. Whitfield's connexion, and being a very zealous man, he obtained great popularity; but becoming shocked at the notion of reprobation, he was gradually led into another scheme, the peculiarities of which may be said to have had their origin in him. He taught that Christ, as a mediator, was united to mankind, and, by his obedience and sufferings, had as fully restored the whole human race to the divine favor, as if all had obeyed

or suffered in their own persons. The manner in which he was led to embrace this doctrine was as follows: He was inquired of wherein it was just for one man to suffer death, and even the torments of hell for another. After endeavoring in vain to satisfy the inquirer upon this point, and failing even to satisfy himself, he read many books on redemption, but without removing the difficulty. Finally, resorting to the Scriptures alone, he discovered that Christ was *united* to mankind in such a manner, that our actions were his, and his actions, sufferings and exaltation ours. However difficult it may be for us to conceive of such a union, it was all clear to him; and hence he turned upon the advocates of vicarious suffering with the question, "where is the wisdom of imputing sin to Christ, which he had no right to bear? and whence his right, if not from *union* to the sinner?"[4] This union exposed us, in the person of Christ, to judgment and condemnation, and brought "him under that character which is obnoxious to punishment," "that his sufferings for sin might accord with the declarations and demands of truth."[5] In support of this view, he nonplussed his former brethren with the perplexing question, how could all men fall in Adam, and become sinners in him, if they had not been united to him? and is it more unreasonable to suppose that they are united to Christ the second Adam, so as to be righteous in him, than that they were united

[4] Union, Boston edition, p. 10. [5] Ibid, pp. 7, 9, 11.

to the first Adam in such a manner as to become sinners? He brought to his aid the testimony of the sacred writers. "We are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body, so also is Christ." "We being many are one body in Christ, and members one of another." "I am crucified with Christ." "Thy dead men shall live, *together with my dead body* shall they arise." The unavoidable tendency of this system was to Universal Salvation, and this is the only thing in which it is to be preferred to Calvinism. The dread sentence of the law being executed on us in the person of Christ, we are beheld in him as reconciled to God. "Our iniquities are pardoned, our warfare is accomplished, so that the Lord beholdeth no iniquity in Jacob, nor perverseness in Israel."[6]

The system of Universalism was openly avowed and preached by Mr. Relly.[7] Jesus Christ had made satisfaction for all the human race, and bore their sins in his body. Hence he knew nothing of inflicting the demands of justice upon the sinner. Sin is to be dreaded for the natural evils which it brings in its train, but not for the penalty of the divine law, which we have all suffered to the full

[6] I have gathered this account of Relly and his system, from the Union, Evans' Sketch, art. Rellyan Universalists, and Southey's Life of Wesley, New York, 1820, vol. ii. 142, 143.

[7] He will be found to have defended this doctrine the most fully in his work entitled "Epistles, or the great Salvation contemplated," &c. London, 1776, particularly Letters iv. v. and vi. See also his work against Richard Coppin's sentiments.

in the person of Jesus. Thus, although Relly admitted the doctrine of partial suffering in the future state, he maintained that "the state of unbelievers after death cannot be a state of punishment, because Jesus Christ who hath tasted death for every man, bare the chastisements of their peace, when the Lord laid upon him the iniquities of us all."[1] He admitted the doctrine of misery in the future state only on the principle, that while in unbelief, men "know not, nor believe, that Jesus hath put away their sins by the sacrifice of himself; and therefore, they are oppressed with guilt and fear; and these are in proportion to their use or abuse of knowledge; to their receiving or obstinately rejecting the divine evidences and demonstrations of grace and salvation."[2] But he looked beyond all evil and misery, whether in this or the future state, to a time of universal restitution, when all mankind will be brought to know the Lamb of God who hath taken away the sin of the world.

III. Being convinced of this doctrine, Mr. Relly began immediately to proclaim it, and he soon gathered a society in London, and commenced stated worship. John Murray, afterwards so well known in the United States as a preacher of Universal Salvation, was one of his early converts. Mr. Murray's parents were people of piety, and they brought him up with great strictness. Mr. Wesley, who

[1] "Epistles, or the Great Salvation," &c. p. 146, 147.
[2] Ubi supra.

was acquainted in his father's family, early saw the buddings of genius, and encouraged him; but afterwards he became enraptured with the preaching of Mr. Whitfield, and joined his connexion. He was born in the town of Alton, in Hampshire, from which, in his eleventh year, he removed with his father to Ireland, where the family settled in the vicinity of Cork. At an early age he lost his father, and soon after commenced preaching in Mr. Wesley's connexion. He followed this but a short time before he returned to England, and became a constant attendant, and occasionally a public speaker, at the Tabernacle erected by Mr. Whitfield. He had often heard of Mr. Relly, but he regarded him as a destroyer of souls; and when any member of the Tabernacle was attracted by his preaching, and led to embrace his supposed erroneous sentiments, Mr. Murray's heart was filled with chagrin and indignation. His hatred was increased by an unsuccessful attempt to reclaim a young lady, who had embraced Universalism, and who, in the course of their conversation, quite disconcerted and perplexed him with her questions. As nothing excites a keener hatred than an inability to answer the arguments of an opponent, especially in the minds of those who suppose themselves to possess an unusual share of spiritual knowledge, so after this affair with the Universalist, his heart burned with renewed enmity. "From this period," says Mr. Murray, "I carefully avoided every Universalist, and most cordially did I hate them. My

ear was open to the public calumniator, to the secret whisperer, and I yielded credence to every scandalous report, however improbable. My informers were *good* people; I had no doubt of their veracity; and I believed it would be difficult to paint Relly, and his connexions, in colors too black."

His mind was first rendered doubtful on the subject of endless misery by the following circumstance. A Mr. Mason had undertaken to refute Relly's Union; and previously to sending his manuscript to the press, he submitted it to Mr. Murray's examination. In the Union, Relly had maintained, that as the apostle has declared that God hath given us eternal life in his son, and that whosoever believeth not this record, makes God a liar, so it followed that God had given this eternal life to unbelievers as fully as to believers, else the unbeliever could not, by his unbelief, make God a liar. This argument Mason turned off merely with a pun, and Murray felt dissatisfied that it was not possible more satisfactorily to refute it. Not long after this he found a copy of the Union at the house of a relative, and the circumstance just mentioned gave him an invincible desire to peruse it. He was not at this time in dispute. That pride of opinion which a debate with an antagonist would have excited, did not operate; and he was therefore a fair candidate for conviction. The book had a powerful influence over him. He read the scriptures continually, he prayed again and again. Fear, doubt

and hope, were the conflicting emotions of his heart. At last he was determined to hear Mr. Rely for himself. He went, and was astonished at the simplicity of the house, the respectability of the congregation, the devotion of the speaker, and above all with the sermon. It was the first consistent sermon he had ever heard. He read the Union with new pleasure, attended often on Mr. Rely's preaching and was more and more astonished. He waited on the Calvinistic clergyman to whom he had been in the habit of listening, for religious conversation. "What shall I do," said he, "with those Scriptures which proclaim the universality of the atonement?" To this his preacher replied, "Why, sir, the doctrines of election and reprobation, are doctrines we are bound to believe as articles of our faith; but I can say, with the Rev. Mr. Hervey, I never wish to think of them, except upon my knees. One observation is however, conclusive; that if, as they affirm, *Christ died for all men, then assuredly all men must be saved; for no one can be eternally lost, for whom the Redeemer shed his precious blood.* Now as the Arminians will not admit a possibility that all will finally be saved, they are thus easily confounded." This had no effect to convince Mr. Murray of the truth of Calvinism. It was as clear to him as any other revealed fact, that Jesus gave himself a ransom for all; and his own minister, in whom he placed great confidence, had acknowledged that, if Christ died for all, all must be saved. The event, in his mind, may be

anticipated. In a short time he was excommunicated from the church at the Tabernacle. His former friends forsook him; the most injurious reports were spread concerning his character; his former confidence was betrayed, and coldness and insolence succeeded to professed friendship and love. In the midst of these trying scenes, still more trying ones awaited him. His only son, an infant of a year's growth, was taken away, and in quick succession the companion of his bosom, for whom he had felt the strongest love. These complicated trials were too much for him to endure; and but for the cheering influences of his new faith, he would have sunk under them. At this time Mr. Relly proposed to him the subject of becoming a public advocate for the truth he had embraced; but he could not muster courage to face a frowning world, pressed down as he was by an accumulated load of disappointments and sorrows. Under these circumstances he accidentally met a gentleman from America. The account which he received from him of the country turned his attention across the Atlantic; and hoping here to find a solitude in which he might wear away his sorrows, he embarked in July, 1770, and in a few weeks arrived on our shores. The circumstances which led him to commence the labors of the ministry in this land, must be reserved for another chapter.

IV. While the sentiments of Relly, or what historians have since denominated Rellyan Universalism, was regularly dispensed to the congregation

gathered by his labors, a new interest was excited in favor of the doctrine of the final salvation of all men, by the arrival in the city of London, of the celebrated Elhanan Winchester from the United States of America. Of his conversion, and of the first seven years of his ministry as a Universalist, we shall treat under the head of Universalism in our own land; here it becomes us to give an account of his labors in England, which we cannot better do than in the language of a writer who four or five years since furnished the public with a memoir of his life.

"His society in Philadelphia prospered under his ministry for about six years; when, in the earlier part of 1787, the congregation was, one Sabbath, struck with surprize to hear him announce, that having long felt it his duty to visit England, he had now determined to take his passage thither immediately. It was in vain for his friends to entreat or to expostulate; and though perhaps offended at the suddenness of his departure, they made such provision for his voyage as the time would permit. In forty-eight hours after he had given them notice, he sailed, with his wife, in a vessel bound to London. He had heard of a few Universalists there, who statedly met, in private rooms, to confer on religious subjects; and to one of them, a Mr. John Clegg, he had a brief letter of introduction from his brother who resided in Philadelphia.

On the 29th of September, 1787, he arrived, almost pennyless and a total stranger, in the great

Metropolis of the British Empire. His reception was cold and very discouraging. Destitute of money, burthened with a wife, and perhaps poorly recommended by his dress and appearance, it cannot be wondered that he was not altogether a welcome minister to a few obscure individuals in the midst of London, who must have felt a sort of obligation to support him, and who nevertheless anticipated little or no success from his labors. They had, however, seen and liked a sermon of his which was reprinted there, two or three years before. With much solicitation, they obtained the use of a Baptist meeting-house in Blackfields, Borough of Southwark, where he preached twice; and then a meeting-house in Moorfields, where he delivered two or three discourses. Cheerful and contented in his disposition, and never disheartened by disappointment or neglect, he exhibited, on these occasions, his usual animation and ability. His friends increased in number and in their expectations; and as the two former places were immediately shut against him on account of his sentiments, they took a large school room in Store-street, Tottenham Court Road. He soon obtained a privilege at a Mr. Thwait's Chapel in Southwark,[1] where he began to deliver his *Lectures on the Prophecies*. In 1788, he preached, on Sunday mornings, at the meeting-house in Wor-

[1] Southwark is that part, or that *suburb* of London, which stands on the south side of the river Thames. Tottenham-Court Road runs nearly north and south at the northern extremity of London, near Islington.

ship-street, and in the evenings at Glass-House Yard, where he repeated his *Lectures on the Prophecies*. His hearers continued to increase; his friends and supporters received new accessions, until at length, they took, for him, the Chapel in Parliament-Court, where, I think, he held his meetings till his departure for America. This, though of a good size, could not accommodate the crowd which pressed to hear.

But he exerted an influence, by means of his publications, much more extensive than that of his preaching. In 1788, he published his *Dialogues on Universal Restoration*; which, though I have not seen all his writings, I feel safe in pronouncing his *Master-piece*, and the only one of his productions which will descend to posterity. It was widely circulated, convinced many, and called others forth from concealment, who had in secret believed the doctrine. In 1790, was begun the publication of his *Lectures on the Prophecies*—the largest of all his works, one that was much esteemed, which added to the author's popularity; but which is now nearly forgotten, and will soon cease to be read. In the same year he published *five Letters to the Rev. Dan Taylor*, in reply to his sermon on endless misery. Before he left England, he published, besides numerous tracts, two volumes of the *Philadelphian Magazine*, which I suppose to have been a periodical work; and *The Process and Empire of Christ*, a Poem in twelve books, which, as Vidler remarks, does not deserve the name of a *Poem*.

At London, Mr. Winchester retained his itinerant habit. During the six years and a half that he spent in England, he often made excursions to a considerable distance in the country; but though he preached to large assemblies, he never attempted to establish separate societies, wishing to diminish rather than to increase the divisions among christians, and not considering that a change of doctrine will necessarily involve a change of denomination. He frequently visited Chatham, Birmingham, Wisbeach, and Fleet, a place in Lincolnshire, and preached in nearly all the meeting-houses of the *General* Baptists in the County of Kent. Several dissenting preachers openly professed the doctrine of Universal Restoration: and some who discountenanced it, patronized him, as he retained many of the notions, and considerable of the language, of the lower sects.

Mr. Winchester was in the height of his influence, when, on the 1st of May, 1794, his friends were alarmed by word from his wife, that he was missing, and that she feared some evil had befallen him. The next morning, advertisements were inserted in the papers, and a search made, with no success. A number of his friends assembled at his house to condole with Mrs. Winchester, when one of them received a letter from Winchester himself, revealing as the cause of his flight, a long series of intolerable abuse from the desperate temper of his own wife, which had at length put his life in danger, and driven him wounded from home. This

letter was read in Mrs. Winchester's hearing, who, after some prevarication, confessed the facts alleged.

Nothing can be adduced in palliation of his pitiable weakness in this affair, unless we suppose that his feeble and declining health had left him exposed, without his ordinary resolution and strength of mind. It is, however, manifest from his own letters, that his wife had long ruled him *with a rod of iron*, and that she had fully verified her declaration, "*I must be a devil, and govern.*"[2]

V. The successor of Mr. Winchester at Parliament Court Chapel, was the Rev. William Vidler. He was born at Battle, in Sussex, in the month of May, 1758, and served an apprenticeship with his father, at the business of a stone-mason. At the age of twenty-one, or thereabouts, he became converted to the doctrine of the Baptists, was baptised in January, 1770, and was ordained in the following month. To assist in the duties of public worship, he, at first, read sermons; then he attempted exhortation; and, in a little time, preached discourses of his own composition. He pursued his duties as a clergyman against the wishes of his parents, who compelled him to serve at his occupation as long as he was under their control; and indeed he followed this practice of hard labor and desultory study until an accident rendered him incapable of supplying the wants of a growing fam-

2 See a Memoir of Mr. Winchester, published in the Universalist Magazine, vol. vi. 189, 193, 197.

ily by manual industry. The congregation to which he ministered in Battle, gave him at first the scanty pittance of £17 per annum, which was augmented from time to time until it reached the sum of £50. Feeling the need of a more commodious house of worship, they persuaded their pastor to perform a journey among kindred societies to solicit funds for that purpose. Although the primary object of the journey was obtained only in a small degree, yet it produced other highly important results. It made Mr. Vidler acquainted with the well known Andrew Fuller, afterward his most eminent opponent on the subject of Universalism, and it tended to raise and strengthen in him doubts on the subject of endless punishment. He had had serious thoughts in relation to this point in his youth; but during his travels he associated with the *General* Baptists and the believers in Universal Restitution, and by their conversation his mind was thrown into a quite unsettled state, in which situation he arrived home. The publications of Mr. Winchester reached the place of his residence, and made considerable impression all around him. He could not be a disinterested observer of these things. He read, he pondered, he prayed. The Bible was the man of his counsel. Whatever men on either side of this controversy could say, he followed them no further than they followed Christ; nor were their writings regarded of any importance, except so far as they assisted to show what was the true sense of the word of God. He was at length fully convinced of

the truth of the doctrine of Universal Restitution, and on the last sabbath in the year 1792, he made it known to his congregation, and defended it in an address of three hours. The new year dawned upon him with hope and grief: it showed him his church divided—the minority forming themselves into a particular Baptist Church, the majority adhering to him and his sentiments.

His present change of views respected principally the efficacy of the death of Christ, and the extent of redemption: he still remained a trinitarian, and a believer in Calvinistic notions of atonement. But notwithstanding this, according to his just and prudent expectation, almost every pulpit in the kingdom was shut against him. He received letters of expostulation and reproach from every side. Mr. Fuller was vehement in remonstrance. His apostacy, as it was called, was the fruitful theme of lamentation among his recent intimate and loving, but now forbidding and authoritative brethren; and soon he and his church were excluded from the Kent and Sussex yearly Association. He had been appointed to preach the sermon before the body that year; but to prevent his doing this, the ministers met the preceding day and expelled him. Mr. Middleton of Lewes, one of his old friends, was appointed in his stead. The sermon befitted the occasion. Mr. Vidler finding that he and his supposed heresy were the subjects of it, arose and stood up during its delivery. The speaker insisted on the pernicious nature and tendency of heresy;

but feeling fearful his hearers would conclude that those who maintained it were bad men, he cautioned them against such a supposition, adding, "*so far from it, heretics are sometimes the holiest and best of men; but they are the more dangerous on that account.*" On the Sabbath after, Mr. V. preached a sermon of encouragement to his rejected people, from the well known passage in Isaiah, so easily applied to their circumstances and feelings: "*Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not; thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is from everlasting.*"

Having embraced Universalism, he was soon led into acquaintance with Mr. Winchester. The latter frequently travelled into various parts of England, as suitable opportunities offered for the promulgation of his sentiments. He was now led to visit Battle, and henceforth a cordial intimacy existed between him and Mr. Vidler. In the month of February, 1794, on account of Mr. W's ill health, Mr. Vidler went up to London, and officiated to the great satisfaction of the Universalists there; who, on Mr. W's mysterious departure for his native land, unanimously invited Mr. Vidler to come to London and keep the congregation together till he was heard from. It was with difficulty he was persuaded to leave his society at Battle, dear to him as children whom he had nourished and brought up in the faith; but judging from a pecuniary arrangement which he made between the two societies, that his removal would be beneficial to both, he fi-

nally went to London. But he divided his services between Battle and London until November, 1796, when he removed his family to the latter place. We must now look at him as standing at the head of the Universalists in England. He attracted scarcely less attention than Mr. W. had. Crowds flocked to the Chapel in Parliament Court, to hear the newly settled minister of Universal Restitution, and the brightest prospects opened to the view of the society.

In January, 1797, Mr. Vidler, in connexion with a Mr. Teulon, with whom he was then a copartner in the bookselling business, began to publish "*The Universalist's Miscellany, or Philanthropist's Museum: Intended chiefly as an antidote against the anti-christian doctrine of Endless Misery.*" In the first volumes of this work, a controversy in the form of letters, was carried on between Mr. Vidler and Mr. Andrew Fuller, before mentioned. The letters on each side, were collected and republished in pamphlets in the years 1802 and 1803, by Mr. Vidler. There was a great propriety in giving these letters an extended circulation side by side. Mr. Vidler had signified to Mr. Fuller that when the controversy was closed, of which he begged Mr. F. to give him notice, he had resolved to republish, in a separate work, all the letters on each side. While he was waiting Mr. F.'s determination, that gentleman's letters were sent before the public *unaccompanied* by Mr. Vidler's! Mr. C. Jerram also, curate of Long Sutton, in Lincolnshire, under the fictitious title of

"*Scrutator*," had published "*Letters to an Universalist, containing a review of the Controversy between Mr. Vidler and Mr. Fuller, on the doctrine of Universal Salvation.*" This was represented by a reviewer at the time, as a defamatory and highly partial production.

Of Mr. Vidler's periodical work it may be proper to mention, that five volumes were published under the title first assumed, in as many successive years. It was changed at the sixth volume, which appeared as the "*Universal Theological Magazine, intended for the Free Discussion of all Religious Subjects, to which Persons of Every Denomination are invited: being a continuation of the Universalist's Miscellany.*" Two volumes were published in a year for two years, when the title was again changed to "*The Universal Theological Magazine and Impartial Review: New Series.*" Of this series there were four volumes ending with the year 1805, making in all, from the commencement in 1797, thirteen volumes, thin 8vo. The work, from the beginning, was not very well supported; and it is thought by Mr. Vidler's friends, that he excelled in nothing so little as in the duties of an editor. His labors as such closed when the work ended. By a pecuniary arrangement with him, the *Monthly Repository* was instituted as a continuation in design at least of his work.

VI. In the year 1798, Mr. Nathaniel Scarlett, a member of Mr. Vidler's congregation, published an improved translation of the New Testament, in the execution of which Mr. V. assisted. The translation was principally made by Mr. Creighton, a cler-

gyman of the Church of England. Mr. Scarlett, who was a prodigious laborer in literature, made all the divisions, and collated all the various translations. He, Mr. Vidler, Mr. Creighton, and a Mr. Cue, all Universalists, the latter a very good Hebrew scholar, used to meet once a week, and compare Mr. Creighton's translation with all Mr. Scarlett's collations, and with the Greek. On any subject of difference they would converse for some time, when, if they continued to differ, the matter was taken home and privately reconsidered, the opinion of each was written and sent, and the majority decided the question. This undertaking was long and arduous; it was conducted with great integrity and with but little difference in sentiment, except that Mr. Creighton and Mr. Cue leaned too much to their trinitarian opinions. The work when completed was published in a very handsome style, and was noticed with sentiments of approbation by the Critical Review for September, 1798, and by the Monthly Review for September, 1799, as will be seen in the succeeding section.

VII. Mr. Scarlett received the rudiments of his education at Kingsford school, under the patronage of John Wesley. He was, by trade, a shipwright; but leaving that employment, he became an eminent accountant, and designed the Commercial Almanack. For many years the study of the Sacred Scriptures was his constant employment and delight, by which he was qualified for the part he sustained in the labor of the translation which bears

his name. The principal objects aimed at were to have the version more literal; to expunge obsolete words; to transpose badly arranged sentences; to restore the sense in cases where it had been impaired by the punctuation; and, in respect to words of the same import, to favor the cadence, and select those which were most harmonious to the ear; and, in fine, to vary from the common version in a great variety of instances in which the English words, in the meaning they now bear, are very far from conveying the sense of the original. The great change is in single words. Thus the words *baptise*, *baptiser* and *baptism*, are changed for *immerse*, *immerser* and *immersion*. *Saved*, *Saviour* and *salvation*, are often changed for *restore*, *restorer* and *restoration*, agreeably to the suggestion of Stonehouse. Mr. Scarlett supposed that there were dispensations of Salvation and Restoration, which ought to be kept distinct. The saved were those who were not to suffer punishment in the future life at all, while the *restored* were such as shall be delivered from it, after receiving judgment according to their works. Hence God is the *restorer* of all men, but the Saviour only of the elect, or first fruits, who are converted to him in this world. The word *aion*, in the common version, is rendered by many different words. It occurs in the Greek Testament one hundred and twenty-eight times, sixty-six of which are in the singular, and sixty-two in the plural. In seventy-two instances it is rendered *ever*, in two *eternal*, in thirty-six *world*, in seven

never, in three *evermore*, in two *worlds*, once *course*, once *world without end*, twice *ages*, and twice it is passed over without any translation. To secure a uniformity in the rendering of the word, it is translated *age*, when in the singular, and *ages* in the plural. That *aion* does not signify *eternity* is certain. We cannot say this eternity and that which is to come, the end of eternity, nor can we speak of eternities in the plural; yet in all these forms the Greek word in question is used. The translations of the adjective in the common version are liable to the same objection; and as there was no corresponding English word, the Greek is retained. Thus Matt. xxv. 46, is rendered, "And these shall go away into æonian punishment, but the righteous into æonian life." Of the evil effect of the injudicious translation of these two words, Mr. Scarlett speaks in the following terms: "It has been a means of propagating the doctrine of endless damnation, which states that God will kindle a fire, and so constantly supply it with a combustible matter, brimstone, by his all creating power, as to endure as long as he himself shall exist; and that the subjects of future punishment, being raised incorruptible and indissoluble, shall for the same period endure burning in the lake of fire, God having no end in view but the endless misery of his creatures. The editor hopes the translation he has given will help to remove so degrading an idea of God, who is love; and although he will afflict the wicked in the lake of fire and brimstone, yet he has a great and grand design

in so doing—punishment being a mean to accomplish an end, and not the end itself."[3] The Monthly Reviewers spoke of this work in terms of moderate commendation. "After having perused this volume," they say, "with considerable attention, and compared it not only with the old translation, but with several modern versions, we discover in it many emendations which do credit to the judgment and industry of the editor and his anonymous coadjutors."[4] The editors of the Critical Review are equally explicit. "The plan and the execution of the work before us, deserve considerable praise. The common translation is made the basis; and the greater part of the alterations that have been made in it may be said to improve it. Upon the whole, we highly approve the present undertaking."[5]

VIII. The happy circumstances under which Mr. Vidler became the minister of the society in Parliament Court, in a few years passed away. This society had been from the beginning accustomed to hear the doctrine of the trinity proclaimed as an important truth of the christian system; and every one knows with what tenacity men will sometimes maintain a point they have been in the habit of regarding as fundamental. Mr. Vidler himself held nothing by an implicit faith. He had invited the freest and boldest discussion in his Magazine, so

[3] See Scarlett's New Testament, London, 1798. Appendix, p. 2.
[4] Monthly Review, Second Series, vol. xxx. p. 88.
[5] Critical Review, New Arrangement, vol. xxiv. pp. 66 68.

that a sense of consistency as well as duty, urged him to decline no examination into his creed, nor to hesitate to avow the convictions of his mind. Thus influenced, he soon found the necessity of rejecting the doctrines of the trinity and the atonement, as he had that of endless misery. This was an event which immediately introduced a division into the society, and ever afterwards his influence and usefulness were much diminished. A considerable number, however, adhered to him, some of the disaffected members returned, several Unitarian families took seats in the Chapel, and restored the society, in some measure, from its languishing condition. But the dawn of returning prosperity cheered him only for a short time. The loss of a lovely daughter, and not long after, of his beloved companion, weaned him from the world. Gradually undermined by disease, which he bore with christian fortitude, he fell asleep in death on Friday, the 23d of August, 1816. Mr. Vidler was a believer in a very long and severe disciplinary punishment in a future state of existence. He supposed that the earth, in the literal sense, will be burned up: and that this conflagration will constitute the second death, and the lake of fire and brimstone into which the impenitent will be cast. Here he supposed they would remain to the ages of ages. He attached much importance to his views of *future* punishment, using great explicitness in stating them, lest it should be thought that he admitted of no punishment in a future state. There appears not

to have been either acquaintance or fellowship between him and the Rellyan Universalists, who had a Chapel in Windmill-street, near Finsbury-Square, London. He supposed that they rejected the doctrine of *future* punishment; and he took the opportunity to inform them, in a brief review, which he published in his Miscellany, of a sermon preached in their Chapel, that he wished no success to such a sentiment. The society to which he ministered has since been known in the Unitarian connexion; but has zealously maintained the doctrine of Universal Restitution. The Rev. Mr. Fox, of whom we have spoken among the English Unitarians, was his successor; and the society has recently erected a Chapel in South Place, near Finsbury-Square.

IX. Let us return to the congregation gathered by Mr. Relly. At his death the society divided into two branches, one of which has gradually ceased to exist; the other, established on a more permanent foundation, remains in the steady profession of Rellyan sentiments, and in the regular maintenance of public worship. One of the principal successors of Mr. Relly was the Rev. James Rait, who for more than forty years was the pastor of the society, and a regular and faithful preacher of Universal Salvation. By his industrious study he qualified himself for the station which he held; by his firmness, honesty and christian deportment, he obtained the respect of other denominations besides his own; and by a long life, faithfully spent

in the service of his people, he won their affection, which broke forth, at his death, in unusual demonstrations of sorrow. His remains were interred in Tyndal's Burying Ground, City Road, London, on Tuesday, April 6th, 1819. He left, we believe, no writings.[6]

About 1797, the society obtained a place of worship in Windmill-street, near Finsbury-Square, which has since been known by the name of the Philadelphian Chapel. Here Messrs. Coward and Jeffreys spake from time to time. The former published two little treatises, entitled "Deism traced to its source," and "The Comparison; or, the Gospel preached of God to the Patriarchs."[7] Afterward the Rev. James Edmands officiated as pastor; and since his removal to Glasgow, to take the charge of the congregation left destitute by the sudden death of Mr. Worrall, the services at the Philadelphian Chapel have been performed by Mr. Henry Bell, a young man of piety and zeal.

X. Besides this society there are four or five others in England, distinguished by their profession of the doctrine of Universal Salvation, on the ground of Relly's system. They are established in Wiltshire and Dorsetshire. About six miles from the city of Salisbury, in Wiltshire, at the delightful village called Bishopstone, there is a neat Universalist Chapel. Another society exists at Shaftsbury,

6 See a Memoir of Rait, published just after his death, in the Monthly Repository.

7 Evans' Sketch, article Rellyan Universalists.

in Dorsetshire, about fifteen miles from Bishopstone, and another at Westbury, in Wiltshire, about the same distance from the former. The Chapel at Bishopstone is the property of a wealthy individual, who grants the use of it to the congregation gratis. Public worship is held in the morning and evening, and, in the afternoon, a Sunday School, at which the poor children of the village are taught to read and write. At Shaftsbury the Chapel was fitted up by a gentleman of that town in 1812. The principal Universalist clergyman in the two counties spoken of, is Mr. William Upjohn, a man of talents and piety, of extensive reading, and a deep acquaintance with the Scriptures.

XI. All the societies in England and Scotland, which bear the name Universalist, are believers in the doctrine of the trinity; and, if we have understood the letters of our correspondents on this subject,* they make it a test of fellowship. The Unitarian Universalists, such as had been connected with Messrs. Vidler and Wright, (who had preached in different parts of England) followed the examples of these men, and coalesced with the class of christians who bore the name Unitarian; and hence we now hear nothing of Universalists, distinguished as such, in those places which were the field of the labors of these gentlemen. What in-

* "The British Restorationists hold the Deity of the Lord Jesus Christ as a first principle of union, at least so far as regards those among whom I have labored." Letter from Rev. James Edmunds, Glasgow.

deed was there to prevent the amalgamation of those who constituted two sects only in name? They both believed in the unity of God; they both believed in future limited punishment, they both discarded the doctrine of atonement, they both held to the efficacy of faith and good works in securing men from future suffering, they both believed in ultimate universal happiness, and were both equally zealous in the propagation, and bold in the avowal and defence of these doctrines. Their union in one denomination was unavoidable. They approved each other's sentiments, and they approved the avowal of them. But the creed of the Rellyan Universalists was widely different. "So far as regards my own sentiments," says Mr. Edmands of Glasgow, "they are briefly these: That the Deity has manifested himself as Father, Son and Holy Spirit; that Christ gave himself a propitiation for the sins of the whole world; that though God is infinitely good, yet he is also just, and cannot be good at the expense of his justice, nor just in opposition to his mercy, and, therefore, the death of Christ made his law honorable, and ensured the restoration of all as the result. That men are now in the hands of a Mediator, who deals with them as rational and accountable beings, and afflicts, whether here or hereafter, only in order to bring them to a deep sense of their own folly, and then restores them to his favor; and that those who love and believe in him in this life, are the first

fruits, and those who do not will be the harvest or ingathering."

XII. Although there are but few societies in Great Britain, bearing the name Universalist, yet probably never before did the doctrine of ultimate universal holiness and happiness find as many advocates as at the present time. Of the two or three hundred Unitarian societies, very few will be found who do not embrace it.[3] We have shown, in the sixth chapter, that in England, Universalism has been embraced by some of almost every sect. Churchmen and Dissenters, Calvinists and Arminians, the ranting Methodist and the sober Quaker, the Behmenite, the Baptist, and many others have received a doctrine so congenial to the benevolence of the human heart. It is not an unreasonable supposition that many, very many, hold that sentiment who make no profession of it. But this state of things cannot long continue. He who, cold and servile, can content himself with duplicity and craft, may yet a little longer be supposed to believe what his reason disapproves; but men who can feel, who can justly estimate the moral wants of mankind, whose hearts bleed at the unhappiness occasioned by the doctrine of endless woe in the sincere but melancholy mind, will lift up their voices against an error, pregnant with evil consequences above every other. But the time will come, and our children will live to see it, when no

[3] I give this statement on the authority of Rev. George Harris, of Glasgow, in a letter to me, dated April 30, 1829.

sect, not even those now regarded as the most rigid, in countries where free inquiry is not legally prohibited, will think it any sign of heresy, or of loose principles, or of vicious inclinations, openly to profess faith in the benevolent tendency of all the divine dispensations, and in the final happiness of all the human race. This is already half accomplished. All the christian world may not be called Universalist; indeed, this name may go out of use; but the sentiment will be breathed at every altar, and eventually be chanted in the songs of every assemblage of devout worshippers. We see the assurance of this happy consummation in the increasing liberality of the age, and in the mighty force with which the tide of human improvement rolls onward. Truth will rise into notice, it will enforce its claims on the human understanding, and its appeals must be heard. We say, in the words of an author whose name is unknown, "if different religions be professed in the same country, and the minds of men remain unfettered and unawed by intimidations of law, that religion which is founded in reason, will gradually gain over the other to it. I do not mean that men will formally renounce their ancient religion, but that they will adopt into it the more rational doctrines, the improvements and discoveries of the neighboring sects; by which means the worse religion, without the *ceremony* of a reformation, will insensibly assimilate itself to the better."

CHAPTER VIII.

HISTORY OF UNIVERSALISM IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

Traces of the doctrine as it existed before Mr. Murray's arrival, and the history carried forward to the conversion of Mr. Winchester.

I. Though there cannot be said to have been any very general public interest excited on the subject of endless punishment previously to Mr. Murray's arrival in America, yet several defences of that sentiment had been published, particularly a sermon by President Edwards, and another by Professor Wigglesworth of Cambridge University. These, with the other works in defence of this sentiment which had appeared, were not called forth by any opposition to the doctrine they were designed to maintain, but were probably preached as matters of course in the defence of orthodox opinions, and published for some peculiar excellencies they were supposed to possess.

II. The first person by whom the doctrine of Universalism was preached in the United States, so far as we have been able to learn, was Dr. George De Benneville, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, though he was not a regular preacher, nor do we

know how prominent a point in his discourses he was pleased to make this sentiment. He was born in London, July 26, 1703, of parents who were French refugees, persecuted for their religion. His father had been invited into England by King William, who took a tender care of him, and employed him at his court. His mother was of the Granville family, who dying at the time of his birth, Queen Anne herself provided for him a nurse, and was his kind guardian during his early years. At about the age of twelve, he was sent to the coast of Africa in a vessel of war; but on his return home, he was thrown into a melancholy state of mind, which continued for fifteen months, and during which he thought himself a great sinner, and believed that all the world except himself would be saved. At last he professes to have had a trance, when he saw himself abandoned to justice, from which he was shielded by the interposition of Jesus Christ, who gave him an assurance of salvation. His soul was now filled with ecstacy, and he adored God on all occasions. The ministers of the French Protestant churches in England, were very uneasy at what they heard concerning him, and they demanded a confession of his faith; but when they learned that he held "the restoration of all souls," they could not own him as a member of their church. Believing that he was called to go into France and preach the gospel, he took passage at Dover for Calais, and on his arrival, began to proclaim, in the Market-Place, the doctrine of free salvation by Je-

sus Christ. He was seized by the civil authority, and punished with eight days imprisonment, being informed that on a second attempt, his life would be in danger. This was when he was about seventeen years of age. He was not to be easily prevented from obeying what he thought was the voice of God, bidding him to preach the gospel. He went into Normandy, where his ancestors had lived, and found some, even clergymen, who were willing to associate with him, whose names he has left as follows: Mons. Durant, de la Chevrette, Dumoulin, L'Achar, &c. They met in valleys and woods, and sometimes crowds gathered to hear them preach. At different times some of their number were seized, of whom several were hanged, others whipped by the hands of the hangman, and branded with a hot iron, and some were sent to the galleys. At length Mr. Benneville was seized, with another young man from Geneva, of twenty-four years old, whose name was Durant. After a month's imprisonment, they were condemned to die, Durant to be hanged, and Benneville to be beheaded. They were conducted together to the place of execution. The former ascended the ladder, sung a Psalm, and died joyfully. The latter fell on his knees, praying God to forgive his murderers, and expecting instant death; but while the executioner was binding his hands, a courier arrived from the King, Louis XV. with a reprieve for the criminal. He was confined at Paris, and at last liberated at the intercession of the Queen. After

this he went into Germany, and preached among the French refugees, and formed considerable acquaintance among the nobility of Germany and Holland. He continued in these countries about eighteen years, when at last he fell sick, became very low, and at this time, had that wonderful trance in which Elhanan Winchester so fully believed, that he published an account of it, against the wish of Dr. Benneville. The Dr. believed with great sincerity, and the same conviction remains in his descendants to the present day, that he actually went both to heaven and hell, and was permitted to have a prospect of what is to take place in the end of time, viz. "the restoration of all souls."[o] He declares that he heard the heavenly host shouting with one voice, and saying, "an eternal deliver-

[o] Dr. Benneville mentions a clergyman by the name of Marsay, with whom he was very intimate, and who appears to have been as highly blessed with revelations and visions as the Dr. himself. I suppose the following, which I extract from the preface to Jeremy White's work on Divine Goodness, has reference to this gentleman.

"Mr. Marsay, a German. A small part of his works have been translated into English, and printed in Scotland, 1749, and is entitled, "Discourses on subjects relating to a spiritual life." Page 165, speaking of the Restoration, he says, "Esau and Pharaoh shall not be excluded from this act of grace, glory be to God in the highest. For all the kingdoms of the earth, even unto the most unfathomable depths, shall be subjected unto our God and to his Christ. Thou wilt bring back all into thy sheep-fold, there shall not one be wanting."

"Mr. M. in different parts of his works, speaks of his having several revelations made to him of spiritual things, and in particular mentions, that he was under a necessity to assert the Restoration of all things. In his comment on Revelations, 2 vols. 12mo. in French, he has inserted many wonderful and extraordinary things, which he says were manifested to him by revelation. The first treatise that was printed of his, was not wrote till the year 1735. The late Count Zinzendorf was with him some time where he resided, and 'tis but a few years since Mr. M. died."

ance ! an eternal restoration ! an everlasting restitution of all things ! "[1]

After his recovery he began again to preach, and being once more imprisoned, when set at liberty, he resolved to remove to America, supposing himself called thither to preach the gospel. He arrived in 1741, and settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania, where he divided his time in the practice of physic, and in the proclamation of the divine word. He soon removed to Germantown, and became a very celebrated physician, as it was not an unusual thing for people to go sixty and seventy miles to obtain his advice. Throughout his life, until prevented by old age, he made it a practice to perform a journey twice every year for the purpose of preaching. He would take no reward for his services, and almost all denominations would invite him to preach in their pulpits. His visits were generally made to the west part of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia ; and on one occasion, he visited some of the Indian tribes, and finding a number sick, he took some of the chiefs into the woods, and instructed them in the use of certain herbs, the virtues of which they had not known. He died of an apoplexy, in March, 1793, aged 90 years.[2]

[1] When those parts of the history were written which relate to France and Germany, I had not received the documents concerning Dr. Benneville ; and this will account for the circumstance of his not being mentioned therein.

[2] This account I have abridged from the sketch of the Dr's life, published by Mr. Winchester, and from a letter, both kindly forwarded, at my request, by the present Dr George De Benneville, of Germantown. At first he was disposed to withhold the documents, in re-

III. An edition of the Everlasting Gospel, by Paul Siegvolk, was published in Germantown, in 1753, but by whom is not known. It may be rationally supposed, that Dr. Benneville would have taken a high interest in such a purpose, particularly on account of the agreement between his sentiments and those of the author of this work. The German Baptists also, who resided in this place, held to the doctrine of Universal Restitution, a circumstance, were there nothing else, sufficient to account for this edition. They were the descendants of the Anabaptists in Germany, and inherited their opinions from their ancestors.

IV. Rev. Richard Clarke, rector of St. Philip's Church, in Charleston, S. C. was a well known believer of Universal Salvation. He was ordained a deacon, by Dr. Hoadley, Bishop of Winchester, in May, 1746, and priest by Dr. Pearce, Bishop of Bangor, September, 1750; and was sent over to America, by the Bishop of London, at the application of the parish in Charleston, for a minister. In February, 1754, the parish met, and elected Mr. Clarke rector, which office he sustained for five years, when he resigned and returned to England.

spect to the well known wish of his father, that nothing might be published concerning his life. But at the urgency of my request he consented. The senior Dr. Benneville wrote his life in French, with the perusal of which Mr. Winchester was once favored; but afterwards he destroyed the MS. entirely. He was undoubtedly a very sincere and pious man, but highly credulous and enthusiastic. Of the circumstances of his infancy, and of the treatment he received in France, I see no reason to have any doubt. I have mentioned his trance as a confirmation of the fact, that he believed the doctrine of Universalism.

The following testimony was given him by the officers of the parish : "these are to certify, that the Rev. Richard Clarke, who has performed the duties of Rector of St. Philip's church, in Charleston, S. C. for upwards of five years, has behaved himself with gravity, diligence, and fidelity, becoming his office and character."[3]

"He was more known as a theologian beyond the limits of America, than any other inhabitant of Carolina. He was admired as a preacher both in Charleston and London. His eloquence captivated persons of taste; his serious preaching and personal piety procured for him the love and esteem of all good men. When he preached the church was crowded, and the effects of it were visible in the reformed lives of many of his hearers, and the increased number of serious communicants. His sermons were often composed under the impressions of music, of which he was passionately fond. From its soothing effects, and from the overflowing benevolence of his heart, God's love to man, peace and good will among men, were the subjects on which he dwelt with peculiar delight. He gave on the week day a regular course of lectures on the Epistle to the Hebrews, which were much admired."[4]

It is acknowledged on all sides that Mr. Clarke was a Universalist. Dalcho, in his history already

[3] Dalcho's Hist. of Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina, Charleston, 1820.

[4] Ramsay's So. Carolina, ii. 452.

referred to, asserts it. In a notice of his death, published in London, it is said, "for near fifty years he maintained, both by preaching and writing, the doctrine of Universal Restoration."[5] And it may be that to his preaching and influence we ought to attribute the following circumstance. During his ministry in Charleston, the Hon. Charles Pinckney, Chief Justice of the province, died. In his will he made provision for the support of a semi-annual lecture at St. Philip's Church, in imitation of those founded by the Hon. Mr. Boyle, of Great Britain. The directions left by Mr. Pinckney, in relation to these lectures were, that they should be "on the glorious and inexhaustible subjects of the greatness of God, and his goodness to all his creatures; subjects which can never fail through all the rounds of eternity: and if I might be permitted to indulge a wish in this matter, I would humbly presume to point out the whole 145th Psalm, as a proper text for the first sermon."[6]

V. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, minister of the West Church in Boston, over which Dr. Lowell is at present settled, was a Universalist. He was distinguished by great force and acuteness of mind,

5 Universalist Theolog. Mag. iv. 111.

6 See Dalcho's History. After Mr. Clarke's return to England, he was, for a long time, a very popular preacher in the established church. He was at first appointed lecturer of Stoke Newington, and afterwards at St. James', near Aldgate, London. His publications comprised six volumes, viz. "The daily service of the Temple explained"; the "Explanation of the Feast of Trumpets"; "A Commentary on Psalm lxviii"; "A series of Letters, Essays, Dissertations and Discourses, on various subjects," in two vols. During the latter part of his life he preached occasionally among the Universalists.

and for the originality and independence of his investigations. His writings gained him great credit in Europe, and procured him a diploma of D. D. from the university of Aberdeen. From 1747 to 1766, he held the office above mentioned; and he shone as a bright star in the constellation of the American clergy of that age. Far, far did he leave behind him all his contemporaries in the cause of truth; and his successors may blush that they have profited so little of his magnanimous and intrepid assertion of his sentiments. He expresses his belief in the ultimate salvation of all mankind, in the following manner.

"The consideration of God's goodness and mercy, particularly as manifested in the Scriptures, in the redemption of the world by Christ, naturally suggests very pleasing hopes, and a glorious prospect, with reference to the conclusion, or final result of that most wonderful interposition of grace. It cannot be denied, that ever since the apostacy of our first parents, there have been, and still are, some things of a dark and gloomy appearance, when considered by themselves. So much folly, superstition and wickedness there is, 'in this present evil world.' But when we consider the declared end of Christ's manifestation in the flesh, to give his life a ransom for all, and to destroy the works of the devil; when we consider the numerous prophecies respecting the destruction of sin and death, and the future glory of Christ's kingdom *on earth;* when we consider, that he must reign

till he hath put *all* enemies under his feet, the last of which is death; and until he hath subdued *all* things to himself; when we reflect, that according to the apostle Paul, where sin has abounded, grace does much more abound; and that the same creature (or creation,) which was originally made subject to vanity, is to be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God; when we consider the parallel which is instituted and carried on by the same apostle, betwixt the first and second Adam, in his epistle to the Romans; and his express assertion in another, that "as in Adam *all* die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive; *but every man in his own order;*" in a word, when we duly consider that there is a certain restitution of *all things*, spoken by the mouth of all the holy prophets since the world began; when we duly consider these things, I say, light and comfort rise out of darkness and sorrow.

And we may, without the least presumption, conclude in general, that, in the revolution of ages, something far more grand, important and glorious, than any thing which is vulgarly imagined, shall actually be the result of Christ's coming down from heaven to die on a cross, of his resurrection from the dead, and of his being crowned with glory and honor, as Lord both of the *dead* and the *living*. The word of God, and his mercy, endure forever; nor will he leave any thing which is truly his work, unfinished. 'As the heavens are higher than the earth,' saith the Lord, 'so are my ways higher than

your ways; and my thoughts than your thoughts—My word, that goeth forth out of my mouth, shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please; and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I send it.'"

"To conclude then; let us all, young men and maidens, old men and children, love and honor, extol and obey the God and Father of *all*, whose tender mercies are over all his works; and who has been so gracious and bountiful to ourselves in particular. If we sincerely do thus, as becometh the children of the Highest, we shall, in due time, partake of his goodness, in a far more glorious manner and measure than we can in the earthly house of this tabernacle. We shall doubtless also have a far more clear, distinct and perfect knowledge, than we can possibly have at present, of what is intended in some apparently grand and sublime, yet difficult passages in the sacred oracles; particularly that of John the Divine, with which I close: 'And *every creature* which is in *heaven*, and on the *earth*, and *under the earth*, and such as are in the *sea*, and *all that are in them*, heard I saying, blessing, and honor, and glory, and power be unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb forever and ever.'[7] Rev. v. 13."

VI. Two preachers of Universalism arose about the time of Mr. Murray's arrival, Elders Adam Streeter, and Caleb Rich; but that they preached

[7] See a Thanksgiving Sermon, delivered in Boston, December 9, 1762, by Jonathan Mayhew. D.D. from Psalm cxlv. 9.

the doctrine before he did, we think is improbable. Mr. Rich we know did not commence preaching untill 1775. One thing is certain, as he himself assures us, that they were converted to Universalism before they *heard* of Mr. Murray. Elder Streeter had been ordained in the Baptist connexion; and on becoming a Universalist, he did not relinquish his vocation, but preached salvation full, free and sure in different parts of New England. Mr. Rich was born in Sutton, Mass. in 1750. About the year 1771 he removed to Warwick, where he joined a Baptist church; and on embracing the joyful *hope* in the salvation of a whole world, he communicated it to his brethren, supposing that they would be happy to learn that all men are at last to be restored. But to his great surprise, they cast him and three or four others of similar views, out of the church. These few then determined to form a society of their own faith, and at their first meeting, it was necessary to appoint every member to some office, in order that the whole number of officers might be obtained. In a short time Mr. Rich began to preach in Warwick, and considerable addition was made to the society. From this he went by invitation to the adjoining town of Richmond, N. H. and collected a number of brethren. A man by the name of Thomas Barnes, residing in Jaffrey, went from motives of curiosity to hear him; but was brought to the knowledge of the truth, and invited Mr. Rich over to that town, where his labors were greatly blessed. Mr. Barnes afterwards be-

came an eminent preacher, which character he sustained until his death. The Universalists in these several towns, at last came to the resolution to form a general society, and set up church discipline. They held annual meetings at Richmond; and after Mr. Rich had served them three years, they resolved to ordain him, "as minister of the United Societies of Warwick, Richmond and Jaffrey, and wherever he should be called by Divine Providence." Elder Adam Streeter was sent for to perform the service, which was attended in Richmond by about three hundred people. We suppose this to have taken place not far from 1780. Thus we find at least three individuals who rose up as preachers of God's boundless love, and the salvation of all men, without hearing Mr. Murray, or forming any connexion with him, until some time after their labors commenced.[8]

VII. Mr. Winchester assures us, that in the year 1778, being then in Virginia, he was told by a minister there, that the doctrine of endless punishment "had been a subject of controversy in the public papers, between a clergyman who defended, and a gentleman of the law, who denied the proper eternity of punishment; and that this gentleman

[8] This section I have abridged from a Memoir of Mr. Rich, written by himself, and which appeared in the Candid Examiner, a Universal'st publication, edited by the late lamented Charles R. Marsh, and published in Montrose, Pa. See vol. ii. pp. 179, 185, 193, 201. Elder Adam Streeter died, at the residence of Capt. Stephen Whipple, in Smithfield, R. I. on September 22, 1786. Mr. Rich died at New Haven, Vt. Oct. 18, 1821, aged 71. Mr. Farewell, an early preacher of Universalism, died at Barre, Vt. Dec. 11, 1823, aged 74.

who denied it, had advanced, that the translators of the Bible had rendered the very same Greek word, by very different English words, sometimes translating it *forever*, and sometimes *world*; and that if they had uniformly rendered it by one English word, it would have been evident to all readers, that no argument for endless misery could have been drawn therefrom." Mr. Winchester also learned, while in the same state, "that a clergyman of the Episcopal Church, had a few years before, given out that he had some wonderful thing to make known to his hearers, which he would preach upon some Sunday, but did not mention when." At last it came out that he believed in Universal Restitution. He preached upon the subject for two Sabbaths; but being taken suddenly ill, with a disease that terminated in his death, the matter went to rest.[9]

VIII. These are the traces of Universalism as it existed in the United States previously to, and at the time of Mr. Murray's arrival. But this doctrine can be said to have been then scarcely known; and as his labors were the principal cause of exciting public attention to the subject, and of establishing societies of that faith in different parts of the country, particularly in our populous cities and towns, he is justly considered as the FATHER OF UNIVERSALISM IN AMERICA.

[9] See the historical preface to Winchester's Dialogues.

He arrived on the shores of the British Colonies in North America, in the month of September, 1770. The vessel in which he came went up the Delaware to Philadelphia; but finding the merchants there under the non-importation agreement, the captain immediately sailed for New York. By accident they were thrown into a place called Cranberry Inlet on the coast of New Jersey; and it became necessary to transfer a part of the vessel's cargo into a sloop in order to get her out. Mr. Murray, as a confidant of the captain, was left in charge of the property in the sloop, which, owing to a sudden change of wind, did not follow the brig immediately to New York. Here he soon went on shore for the purpose of obtaining provisions, when he became acquainted with a Mr. Potter, who, by his own means, had built a house for the worship of God, under the impression that God would send a preacher. Potter received Mr. Murray with transport, and insisted on his preaching a sermon before he went away; but as the latter had formed the resolution to retire from the world, it was not until overcome by his friend's importunity, that he consented. Notice was immediately circulated through the country for several miles, and here he delivered his first sermon in America. At the close of the service he hurried on board the sloop, and proceeded to the city with the goods which had been committed to his charge.

The news of his having preached as above mentioned, was carried to New York by the boatmen

who accompanied him, and soon after his arrival, he received a pressing invitation to dispense the word of life. His distinguishing sentiment was not probably known. He reluctantly accepted; and as it was above a week before he could return to his earliest American friend, he preached several times to large congregations, and with great effect. When he went back to the residence where at first he was so hospitably received, his own inclination, and the ardent desire of his friend, would have prevailed on him to make this his home; and indeed he formed the resolution; but the earnest calls which he received, and the attention with which the people listened to his communications, caused him to believe it to be his duty to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ from place to place, and wheresoever he should be solicited so to do. At first he shrunk at the thought of encountering the deadly opposition which a full declaration of his sentiments would excite; but on becoming convinced that it was his duty to proclaim salvation to his fellow men, he went forth resolved, if necessary, to encounter shame in the cause of Christ. His labors at first were confined to the city of New-York and its neighborhood. A subscription paper was opened to obtain funds to build a meeting house, and a sufficient sum was immediately raised; but he refused to accept the kind offer he received to settle in that place. An invitation reached him to visit the city of Philadelphia. Thither he repaired; but every house of worship was closed against

him. The clergy had received a hint that his sentiments were not orthodox, and none of them gave him any attention or countenance. There was in Philadelphia a small society, which usually held its meetings at a place called Bachelor's Hall; who, being willing to hear for themselves, invited him to preach to them. The meetings were continued in this place for a season, and several embraced the sentiments which were advanced by the preacher. We said the clergy all opposed him. There were one or two who professed a little attachment at first; but they soon grew cold, and afterwards became bitter enemies. Among them was a Seventh Day Baptist, who went on foot nine miles every Saturday to preach. On one occasion Mr. M. asked him, how many his congregation contained? "About a hundred," was the reply. "How many of this hundred do you suppose are elected to everlasting life?" Answer. "I cannot tell." "Do you believe fifty are elected?" Answer. "O no, nor twenty." "Ten, perhaps?" Answer. "There may be ten." "Do you think the non-elect can take any step to extricate themselves from the tremendous situation in which the decrees of heaven have placed them?" Answer. "Oh no, they might as well attempt to pull the stars from the firmament of heaven." "And do you think your preaching can assist them?" Answer. "Certainly not; every sermon they hear will sink them deeper and deeper in damnation." "And so, then," replied Mr. Murray, with his usual wit, "you walk

nine miles every Saturday, to sink ninety persons out of a hundred deeper and deeper in never-ending misery."

After having spent nearly two years in New York, Philadelphia and the principal towns around and between those cities, Mr. Murray came to the resolution to visit New England, and in the fall of 1772, he started for Newport, in R. I. He preached at several towns in Connecticut as he passed along, until he came to Preston. Here he joined company with the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, who was settled at Newport; and who, having learned that he was a preacher of a *new* doctrine, could not refrain from vomiting on the occasion the bitterness of his soul against a man, whose only offence consisted in a dissent from prevailing theology. In the midst of their conversation, Mr. H. asked a question which gave rise to a dialogue, as follows:

"Well sir, as you call yourself a preacher of the gospel, and *may*, as I have said, preach to my people, it is proper I should know what ideas you have of gospel. Tell me, sir, what is gospel?" I am happy in being able to give you a direct answer. The gospel, sir, is a solemn declaration, given upon the oath of Jehovah, that, *in the Seed of Abraham, all the nations of the earth should be blessed.* "Is that all you know of gospel?" Would it not, my good sir, require a very long time to inform mankind, *who*, and *what*, that Seed is; how and in what manner all the nations of the earth *are*, and *shall be blessed therein*; and what blessings they are blessed with,

in Christ Jesus? The apostle Paul, though he labored more abundantly than his brethren, found this vast, this important subject, abundantly sufficient for his *whole life;* and those, who are blessed in that Seed, will find the contemplation of that blessedness, which they shall be blessed with, *in Him*, sufficient to furnish a song, which, although never-ending, will be ever new. "If such be your views, you know nothing at all of gospel." You could not so absolutely determine this matter, if you yourself were not acquainted with the meaning of the term gospel. Tell me then, sir, if you please, what is gospel? "Why, sir, this is gospel: He that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth *not* shall be damned." Indeed, sir, I had thought, the *literal, simple* meaning of the term gospel, was *glad tidings.* Which part of the passage you have cited, is gospel, that which announces *salvation*, or that which announces *damnation?* "Well, then, this is gospel: *He that believeth shall be saved.*" Believeth what, sir? "That." What sir? "That, I tell you." What sir? "That, I tell you: *He, that believeth, shall be saved.*" *Believeth what*, sir? What is he to believe? "Why that, I tell you." I wished, sir, to treat this investigation seriously; but, as you seem to be disposed to be rather ludicrous we will, if you please, dismiss the subject. "No, sir, I do not mean to be ludicrous; I am very serious." Well, sir, if so, then I beg leave to ask, what is it I am *to believe, the believing of which will save me?* "That Jesus Christ made it *possible* for sinners to be sav-

ed." By what means? "By believing." Believing what? "*That.*" What? "That Jesus Christ made it possible for sinners to be saved." By what means is it possible sinners may be saved? "By believing, I tell you." But the devils believe; will their believing save them? "No, sir." Suppose I believe that Jesus Christ made it possible to save sinners; will that save me? "No, sir." Then, sir, let me ask, what am I to believe, the believing of which will save me? "Why, sir, you must believe the gospel, that Jesus made it possible for sinners to be saved." By what means? "By believing." Believing what? "*That*, I tell you."

Mr. Murray's dependence in thus pressing the question, was in the argument he had derived from Relly, viz. that the gospel was a fact true in itself, and true in relation to the unbeliever, who could not otherwise, to use the apostolic phrase, "make God a liar" by his unbelief. The fact to be believed is this, that God hath given to us eternal life in his son Jesus Christ. This fact derives no strength from human faith, nor is it impaired by unbelief. The unbelief of man cannot make the faith of God without effect. Thus, had Mr. Hopkins really and truly answered the pungent and oft repeated question which he had drawn out of his antagonist, he must have acknowledged the promise of salvation to a sinful world, a promise as sure as the very existence of God. But he found himself in a difficulty, and the natural consequence en-

sued—he became angry,[o] and accused his opponent of blasphemy. Mr. Murray was not deterred from proceeding, and on his arrival, he preached several times to crowded houses; one of the churches was thrown open to him, and the congregations listened with great attention. He formed friendships with individuals which were severed only by death. From Newport he travelled as far as Providence, where he was received with much distinction by several individuals, and where he preached to large audiences in one of the principal churches. He had contemplated extending his visit to Boston; but the approach of winter admonished him to return, and he was soon encircled by the family of his earliest American friend.

In the winter of 1772–3, he visited several places in Pennsylvania and Maryland; during the residue of the spring, the summer, and a part of autumn, he divided his time between Pennsylvania, the Jersies and New York; but in October he left his residence for Newport, intending also to travel as far east as Boston. By his reception in

o Mr. Hopkins, stung deeply at this conference with the preacher, recovered with difficulty from the wound his pride had received; and he was stimulated, therefore, in the year 1783, to make a reply to Universalism, or rather to defend the doctrine of endless misery against the attacks of Universalists. He sent forth an octavo volume of four hundred pages, entitled "An Enquiry concerning the future state of those who die in their sins"; wherein he attempted to prove, from scripture, that the punishment of such will be endless; to assign reasons for it, and answer objections. He professed to have written it because Universalism was spreading in the country. We suspect it has not been much thought of even by the orthodox, for we have never seen it referred to, except by the author, in his memoir of himself.

the former place his warmest wishes were more than satisfied. As there were some who would have been wounded, had he again entered the church in which he preached at his first visit, he declined the use of it: and occupied the State House, at the kindness of the governor, who himself became one of the audience. Rejecting an invitation to take up his abode in this place, which was strengthened by a promise that a church should immediately be erected for his use, he left Newport for East Greenwich. Here he was made acquainted with many new friends, and preached in the Court House to crowded audiences, the judges and lawyers, as the court was in session, being among his auditors. Passing through Providence on his way to Boston, he again officiated in one of the churches, and on the 26th of October, 1773, he arrived for the first time in the metropolis of New England. He had letters of introduction to two individuals, who received him with civility; and he soon became acquainted with others, particularly Thomas Handeside Peck, from whom he received flattering attentions and essential encouragement, and who opened his dwelling-house for the purpose of public worship. Mr. Murray delivered his first discourse in Boston in the hall of the Factory,[1] so called, where he preached several times during this visit. He soon by invitation went to Newburyport, and officia-

[1] This was a large building, I understand, opposite the site on which Park-street church now stands.

ted in two or three of the churches at the invitation of the settled clergymen. He extended his journey as far east as Portsmouth, and arrived there on November 10th. Here he occupied the pulpit of Mr. Drown, then recently deceased, and afterward of Dr. L. two clergymen sitting with him. On his return he passed again through Newburyport, preaching as he went; and at Boston he held meetings in the Factory hall, in Faneuil Hall, and in the Rev. Mr. Croswell's meeting-house, of whom Mr. Peck, just mentioned, was a chief supporter. Still making his way south, we find him soon in Providence, in the pulpit of Mr. Snow; then at East Greenwich, at New London, and so on through the principal towns in Connecticut, until he is once more beneath the roof of his patron, who first pressed his hand on the shores of America.

IX. In the following spring (1774) he received an invitation to take the pastoral charge of the Society in Portsmouth, to which Mr. Drown had officiated; but being persuaded it was not his duty to confine himself to any particular place, he did not accept. Setting his face once more towards Boston, he took the usual rout through Connecticut and Rhode Island, and arrived on the fourteenth of September, and was received with demonstrations of heart felt joy. During the autumn he preached at the hall of the Factory, at the dwelling house of his friend, Mr. Peck, and at Faneuil Hall. Having made an ineffectual attempt by reason of the

crowd, to preach in a hall, he yielded to the pressing solicitations of many of the proprietors of Mr. Croswell's Meeting House[2], and preached there several times. The house was opened for him against the wishes of Mr. C. who seems, through the whole, to have been his violent opponent. On the evening of Nov. 2. a clergyman, before unknown to him, replied to his discourse, and a quite spirited debate ensued. This gave a new impulse to public feeling, and a wider celebrity to the new preacher. Opposition increased, and was augmented, in a great degree, by the inflammatory articles which Mr. C. over his own signature, had published in the papers, and to which Mr. Murray had replied. At length they both declared they would publish no more in the political journals; but Mr. Croswell's heat of feeling spurred him on, and another slanderous article appeared. This circumstance called forth from Mr. Murray a highly spirited reproof in a private letter, which enraged the old gentleman beyond bounds. The next Sabbath evening, when Mr. M. repaired as usual to the Meeting House, he met Mr. C. on the pulpit stairs, with a party of his adherents, placed there for the purpose of keeping him out. On his arrival his

2 This was originally the house of the French Protestants, and stood on the lot next east of that on which the Meeting House of the Second Universalist Society now stands. Snow's Hist. of Boston, 1826, p. 201. It was purchased by Mr. Croswell's Society in 1743. Mr. Croswell was from Groton, Connecticut, where he had been a settled minister. In the latter part of his life he became blind, but notwithstanding continued his professional labors. He died April 12, 1785, aged 77. Snow's Hist. of Boston, 232.

clerical antagonist commenced a most violent attack on him, vociferating with great earnestness, that his doctrine was "a damnable lie." To this Mr. Murray replied with calmness, and Mr. C. rejoined much in the same manner as before. The two now began to question each other, putting such interrogations as it was thought could not be answered, without bringing the respondent directly into contact with public prejudice. The interest of the scene was heightened, and a tremulousness was produced on all sides, by the abrupt exclamations which occasionally broke in from various parts of the house, upon the discussion of the parties. Finally Mr. Murray spoke with great plainness and at considerable length, in defence of his sentiments, during which his opponent manifested great want of self-command. Thus ended that evening. Public feeling was in a state of effervescence, and signs of riot were very visible. At the lecture in the same place one fortnight afterwards, the throng was prodigious, so that it was with much difficulty the speaker reached the pulpit; and on arriving there, he found that the cushions had been sprinkled with a noxious drug, the strong effluvia from which almost prevented his speaking. In the midst of the service many stones were violently thrown into the windows, and much alarm was excited. "At length," says Mr. Murray, "a large rugged stone, weighing about a pound and a half, was forcibly thrown in at the window behind my back. It missed me. Had it sped, as it was aimed, it must

have finished me. Lifting it up, and waving it in view of the people, I observed, this argument is *solid* and *weighty*, but it is neither *rational* nor *convincing*." Persons in various parts of the house besought him to leave the pulpit, as his life was in danger. "Be it so," he replied, "the debt of nature must be paid, and I am as ready, and as willing to discharge it now, as I shall be fifty years hence. Yet, for your consolation, suffer me to say, that while he who called me into existence has any duty for me to perform on earth, I am immortal; and when he has executed those purposes for which he created me, he will graciously sign my passport to realms of blessedness. With your good leave then, my auditors, I will pursue my subject; and while I have a—*thus saith the Lord*—for every point of doctrine which I advance, not all the stones in Boston, except they stop my breath, shall shut my mouth, or arrest my testimony." This was an instance of admirable presence of mind. It disarmed the adversary for the moment, and order and silence were gradually restored. The speaker continued his subject to the end, with uncommon freedom in the defence and illustration of his doctrines. This may be regarded as the height of opposition to Universalism in Boston. We may perhaps plead the spirit of the times in extenuation of the conduct of the Bostonians in this instance. Mr. Murray was an Englishman. The public mind was highly fomented with political discords, and riotous proceedings had not for several previous

years been uncommon. When any considerable number of the people were enraged, it was customary for them to manifest their displeasure in a public and tumultuous manner. Nevertheless, no circumstances furnish a complete excuse. Mr. Murray was not a politician, but a peaceful minister of Jesus Christ; and it was against his own inclination that he had entered Mr. Croswell's pulpit, at the earnest solicitation of the proprietors of the house.

X. In the midst of these troubles Mr. Murray had received an invitation to visit Gloucester, Mass. and on the 3d of November, he arrived, for the first time, in that town. Through all his travels in America, this was the only place in which he had found any individuals who had the least knowledge of Mr. Relly's sentiments. A few years previous, an Englishman, by the name of Gregory, had carried Relly's Union into this town, which was read with great attention and delight by a few persons of liberal and inquiring minds. When they saw Mr. Murray denounced in the papers as one of Relly's preachers, they immediately despatched one of their number to welcome him as a herald of truth, and to invite him immediately to repair to Gloucester. His distinguishing sentiment probably not being much known on his arrival, he was visited by the deacons and elders of the principal parish, the clergyman thereof being sick, from whom consent was obtained that he might officiate in their Meeting House. He preached here several times; and

spent a number of days in sweet communion with those who enjoyed with him the blissful hope of the ultimate happiness of a ransomed world.

In the following month he again visited Gloucester; but reports were in circulation that he was not sound in the faith. On a visit to the clergyman of the parish, he fully stated his views, and thereupon the Meeting House was shut against him, and the aged minister took a decided stand in opposition. He prepared an address to the people of his charge, which was delivered to them on the third, and printed in the Essex Gazette, at Salem, on the fourteenth of February.[4] Notwithstanding the op-

4 The reader will be interested in the perusal of this early document. I find it appended to a pamphlet, published by John Cleaveland, A. M. paster of the second church in Ipswich. Salem, 1776.

"My Brethren and Friends,—I have much sorrow of heart considering the state of affairs among us. I am far advanced in life, and labor under threatning maladies, and know not how soon I may be taken from you and from this world. As one drawing near the eternal world I would give you caution—*Take heed what you hear.* The seeds of heresy are sowing and sprouting up among us; and souls are in danger of being seduced into errors.

"There is one, who calls himself *John Murray*, [It is not the Rev. Mr. John Murray, of Boothbay,] who has declared the following to be his settled opinion. That the whole human race, every one of Adam's posterity, have an *interest*, in Christ, and are God's beloved ones. That the whole human race, every individual of mankind shall finally be saved. That Judas shall sit upon a throne in the kingdom of heaven. That at death the good go into happiness, and the bad into an intermediate state, a place of misery, to abide there for a certain season, but shall finally be saved; which however dressed up in soft terms and smooth expressions, is the very popish purgatory.

"The substance of these things, and many other errors, he hath openly avowed and fully declared to be his sentiments, at my house, in the hearing of many witnesses. These are unscriptural tenets, and notwithstanding all his perverting of the holy scriptures, and wresting and torturing the word of God, he was not able to produce one plausible proof, nor one rational argument for the support of these pernicious principles.—They naturally lead to many other gross er-

position which began thus to rage, Mr. Murray concluded to take up his residence in Gloucester, with the intention of travelling occasionally to such parts of the country, as should seem to be pointed out for the proper field of his labors. The inveteracy of his enemies in this place was probably increased by such a resolution; and they seem to have entered, with great spirit, upon the task of expelling him, by some means or other, from the town. Availing themselves of the political prejudices of the people, they represented him as an emissary, sent into this country in disguise, by the British ministry. A town meeting was called, and by such means, a vote was obtained that he should forthwith depart. This will not greatly surprise

rors and popish absurdities.—And they are extremely dangerous to the souls of men. They encourage the wicked in their wickedness; for upon these principles a man may live and die in sin, and yet go to heaven at last; he may get drunk, and commit fornication and adultery, he may cheat, and steal, and lye, and indulge all manner of carnal gratifications, and be saved notwithstanding.

"But you may say, you do not discover any of these errors in his preaching.—Why others, who have been accounted serious, discerning, judicious men, and whose judgment would heretofore have had some weight in your minds, have discovered them in his public discourses.

"But however, he seems artfully to hide them, your minds are not prepared to receive them, your affections must first be broke off from your ministers, and your minds filled with prejudices against them by their being reviled and vilified, and your affections set upon himself, and you brought to receive the words of his mouth with an implicit faith, then doubtless these dangerous doctrines, and many others, will be inculcated.

"My brethren and friends, I must caution you to take heed and beware of false teachers. Beware, lest ye be led away with errors and fall from your steadfastness. Beware of false prophets, concerning whom our blessed Saviour hath warned us, *that if it were possible they shall deceive the very elect.* SAMUEL CHANDLER."

those who reflect, that at that time, the will of the multitude was frequently law. On the strength of a provincial statute, some attempted to expel him as a vagrant, for which reason one of his friends presented him with sufficient property to constitute him a freeholder. Amid all these difficulties, there were some in this town who closely adhered to him, and who, when the Meeting House was closed against him, opened their parlors, and at length fitted up a large room for the purpose of public worship. The angry fury of his opponents was directed now not to him alone; it embraced, in its mad designs, all those who adhered to him. Seventeen members of Mr. Chandler's church were excommunicated; and were compelled either to abandon the course they had begun, or bear the public odium. The latter they nobly dared to encounter.

XI. In the midst of these circumstances, Mr. Murray was appointed a chaplain in the army, which, with such commendable promptitude, had assembled in the environs of Boston, immediately after the commencement of hostilities at Lexington and Concord. With Varnum and Greene, two distinguished officers from Rhode Island, he had been on terms of intimacy, and had always found a hearty welcome at their hospitable dwellings. This circumstance will enable us to conjecture by whom he was recommended to the Rhode Island brigade, to the chaplainship of which he was appointed. On the arrival of Washington to take command of the army, the rest of the chaplains united in peti-

tioning for the removal of the Universalist, but the Commander in Chief did not see fit to comply with their request; on the contrary, he confirmed the appointment already made, and in General Orders proclaimed Mr. Murray as chaplain of the three Rhode Island regiments,[5] and ordered that he be respected accordingly. His connexion with the army was broken up by a severe indisposition, which threatened to be fatal, and rendered it necessary that he should retire from the camp; and, with the physician of the brigade in attendance, he was conveyed to his warm friends in Gloucester.

XII. This testimony of respect did not abate the rigor of opposition. Priests and people united their efforts to arrest the spread of his sentiments, and lessen his influence. About the first of May, 1776, a pamphlet appeared, entitled *An attempt to nip in the bud, the unscriptural doctrine of Universal Salvation, and some other dangerous errors connected with it; which a certain stranger who calls himself John Murray, has, of late, been endeavoring to spread in the First Parish of Gloucester, &c. &c.* It was written in the form of a letter, "addressed to one of those that are drawn away, if possible to reclaim him and the others." The author was John Cleavland, A. M. a person of some note, and pastor of that parish in Ipswich, now incorporated into the town of Essex. He must have been a man of astonishing credulity; for we find

[5] Evans, in his Sketch, and Southey, in his Life of Wesley, have both erred in stating that Mr. Murray was chaplain to General Washington.

the following anecdote concerning Mr. Murray on one of his pages, which he says was communicated to him by a person of reputation, who assured him there was good authority for the truth of it. "Turning to a part of his audience, where a number of privateers-men were swearing at one another, Murray said, 'Well, you may go on, and drink, and swear, and damn your fellow-men, and blaspheme your Maker, and think to dishonor God; but you do not dishonor him at all; you only magnify his grace and display the merits of Christ so much the more.' Huzza! Good doctrine for privateers-men! cried out a certain captain of a privateer." It was by such slanders that Mr. Murray's enemies promoted the object they wished to overthrow.

Trials of this kind, although they drew many a tear from the persecuted preacher, did not disheaten him, nor cause him to swerve in the least from the path of duty on which he had entered. His friends in Gloucester remained steadfast, and on the first of January, 1779, they formed themselves into a society, each member subscribing his name to an instrument which had been prepared. Sargent, Plummer, Somes, Elwell and Pearce, are among the first signatures. With a noble independence they assert in this article, that they receive John Murray, their *friend and brother*, as their minister, sent by the Supreme Head of the Church, to labor among them in the work of the ministry, and that they do this "from a full conviction, that the same God, who sent the first preachers of Jesus Christ,

sent him," and that he preached the same doctrine which was preached by them. In the beginning of the year 1780, they commenced the building of a house, which was dedicated on the following Christmas day. It was a small building of one story, and had an eligible situation. Here this band of brethren met and hung with rapture upon the lips of their beloved minister, who was settled as one of them, receiving no reward save the supply of his wants, and the pleasure of his labors. They indulged the expectation that their troubles were drawing to a close, and began to anticipate the halcyon days of peace and prosperity. But unhappily for them, the rage of their opponents had not spent itself. They were soon called to witness new scenes of distress, and put under the necessity of appealing from the justice and humanity of their foes to a legal tribunal. We must, however, defer the history of this for a short time, as the period to which we have brought ourselves, requires that we commence a new chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE CONVERSION OF MR WINCHESTER TO THE FORMATION OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION.

I. At the time Mr. Winchester embraced Universalism, there were not above three or four preachers of that sentiment in the United States. To the preaching of Mr. Murray, who was by far the most eminent of the whole, Mr. Winchester's change of sentiment can in no wise be attributed. Mr. Winchester, then about nineteen, had just commenced preaching, in Brookline, Mass. as a General or Free Will Baptist. In the autumn of 1774, when Mr. Murray came from the south to the north, Mr. Winchester went from the north to the south, and, in South Carolina, received an invitation to settle over a Baptist church at Welch Neck, on the great Pee Dee river; and although he returned a few months after to take his family to Carolina, yet he was absent from the neighborhood of Boston, during the excitement produced by Mr. Murray's labors. When Mr. Winchester fully embraced the doctrine of Universalism, he was in Pennsylvania, while, as we have seen, Mr. Murray's residence was in Gloucester. They did not become acquainted with each other, until Mr. Winchester had, for a considerable

time, avowed and preached Universalism. And another fact, still more striking, is this, that although they both arrived at the same great and glorious conclusion, viz. the salvation of all men, yet their views were widely different, Mr. Murray being a complete Relyan, and Mr. Winchester adopting the system of Seigvolk and Stonehouse, from whom he received the first cast of his opinions. It is a remarkable fact, that these two eminent men were raised up, the one in Europe, the other in America, and, without the least connexion with each other, in the space of ten years, struggling against opposition, both came out, in the same country, as ardent defenders of the doctrine of Universal Salvation. When Mr. Winchester became a Universalist, he was of the same age at which Mr. Murray commenced his labors in this country; and they were both in the very prime of life, the age of thirty, when people generally have acquired some experience, and when their principal years of usefulness are to come.

II. Mr. Winchester's attention had been drawn to the subject of Universalism, by Seigvolk's Everlasting Gospel. Some arguments which he discovered therein, struck him with a force that he was never afterward fully able to resist. The subject, in spite of his efforts to the contrary, would, at times, court his attention; and every thing said in relation to it excited in him the strongest interest. This was while he resided in South Carolina. Sometime in the following summer, while in Vir-

ginia, he mentioned the doctrine to a minister, who informed him that a controversy had been carried on in the public papers on that subject, between a clergyman and a gentleman of the law. He soon after learned that an Episcopal clergyman in that state had openly avowed Universalism. These things failed not to make a deep impression upon him; but such was his timidity, that he could not yet allow himself the liberty of unbiassed meditation upon the subject. In the fall of 1779, he commenced a journey to New-England. Travelling by slow degrees, and stopping occasionally to preach, he had frequent opportunities of conversing with ministers of different denominations, to some of whom he proposed the arguments he had heard in favor of Universalism, which, to his great surprise, he found them unable to controvert. He however thought himself an opposer of the doctrine, and would on some occasions preach against it, with a desperation proportioned to his fear of being overcome by it. He arrived in New-England, where he travelled and preached extensively, with popularity and success, for about nine months; but, in spite of all his attempts to throw off his suspicion, not to say hope, that Universalism was true, it steadily gained on his mind. Early in the autumn of 1780, he began his journey to South Carolina, to return to the society over which he had been settled. On his way, he tarried a while on a visit at Pawling's Precinct, near the eastern boundary of the State of New-York, where the subject that now

engrossed much of his attention, was frequently the topic of conversation. Of the family of the Rev. Mr. Waldo, with whom he resided, one became fully convinced of the final salvation of all mankind; and several religious people who were present, were overheard in regretting that they had inquired so far into the subject, as they could not resist the arguments he had proposed.

III. Thus, converting others, and half a convert himself, he arrived at Philadelphia, on the 7th of October. He intended to have left the city in a few days: but Providence had designed that he should here enter on a new sphere of action, and devote his influence and talents to a cause, which, notwithstanding the bitterness of bigotry, and the obstinacy of prejudice, is *the desire of all nations*, and the only justification *of the ways of God to man.*

The Baptist church in this city, being destitute of a minister, requested him to stay and preach with them, and at length he consented. Much excitement was produced by his labors; great additions were made to the church; his congregation grew too large for the Meeting House, so that his friends procured the use of St. Paul's, the Episcopal church, the largest in the city, which was immediately filled to overflowing; and most of the clergy, of all denominations, embraced every opportunity to hear him.

Amidst this tide of success and popularity, while all appeared to approve, he himself was far from being satisfied. Anxious to inquire into the new

doctrine, of which he had seen but a glimpse, he searched for Seigvolk's book in order to give it a thorough reading. It was some time before he came acrost it; but in the meanwhile a friend put into his hand *Stonehouse* on the "*Restitution of all Things.*" This he read with care, and was so far convinced by its proofs, that with his characteristic frankness and simplicity, he began to indulge himself, among his friends, in expressing a hope that in the dispensation of the fulness of times, God would gather together all things in Christ. When asked with surprise, whether he believed this, he repeated that he could not but hope it. This soon came to the ears of a minister, his particular friend; and as friendship, when soured by sectarian prejudice, generally proves the most ruthless enmity, his friend, meeting him in the street, broke abruptly upon him with the report he had heard, and parted from him by saying, "*If you embrace this sentiment, I shall no longer own you for a brother;*" a declaration that he maintained with the dogged obstinacy of his sect, never speaking to him afterwards, and refusing to shake hands when they met.

Mr. Winchester instantly saw the convulsion that was approaching, and felt the necessity of ascertaining whether Universalism was the doctrine of the Scriptures, that so he might decide in his own mind, whether to defend or renounce it. For this purpose he confined himself to his chamber, except on Sundays, and spent about a month in prayer and careful examination of the Bible, when,

though he wished a longer opportunity for consideration, he became so well convinced of the truth of the doctrine, as to know it his duty by no means to deny it. His determination was now formed in clear prospect of the loss of his numerous circle of friends, his support, his fame, and his character; and he prepared himself for the sacrifice, when the trial should come. His manner of preaching remained much the same as heretofore, holding forth the death of Christ and salvation for mankind in general terms, without specifying a belief in Universal Restoration. This was sufficiently liberal to give offence to some, who came no more to hear him. In the latter part of January, (1781) a number of his church members met him at a friend's house, to be certified whether the report concerning his sentiments was true. He acknowledged his faith; and the result of the conference was, that he should not preach Universalism, nor introduce it in private conversation unless attacked or requested; and that they, on their part, should not mention the matter to his disadvantage, but endeavour to keep it close. But before they parted for the evening, some of his brethren wished to know the reasons for his belief; and after some debate among themselves, it was agreed that he might read to them such passages of Scripture as he pleased, but without a word of comment. He did so, and several of them were convinced.

From this time to the end of March, the fermentation of the public mind continually increased.

Many came to converse with Mr. Winchester on the doctrine of the Restoration; some embraced it, and others violently opposed it; till difference of opinion among the members of the church grew to the rancor of party spirit.

On the first Sunday of April, Mr. Winchester was to preach at Germantown, about eight miles from Philadelphia, among the German Baptists, who held the doctrine of Universal Restoration. As he was leaving the city on Saturday, he found that a number of eminent ministers had just arrived from the country, on the private request of some of his opposers, to hold a public dispute with him. Giving them the liberty of his pulpit for the next day, he departed for the place of his appointment. During his absence, a report was industriously circulated that he had fled to avoid an interview; and on Monday, when he returned, the delay occasioned by a funeral that he was called to attend, encouraged his opposers, till they began to deceive themselves with that falsehood they had imposed on others. The multitude was assembled in the Meeting House, impatiently waiting for the dispute, his opposers were reproaching his friends with his flight, and clamorously vaunting over them, when Mr. Winchester entered with a serene countenance, and took his seat. A sudden change came over the assembly; his friends were relieved from their anxiety, and they who had boasted so much in his absence, feared to encounter him when present. His astonishing memory, which had already treasured

up much of the Scriptures, was well known, and his talents as a public speaker, undoubted. The vote of the assembly was then read, by which the Rev. Mr. Boggs had been selected to dispute with Mr. Winchester. Mr. Boggs then arose, and thus addressed the people: "*I am not prepared to dispute with Mr. Winchester. I have heard that he says it would take six weeks to canvass all the arguments fairly on both sides; and I suppose he has been studying on the subject for a week or more, and I have not studied it at all.*" Discovering that there was to be no debate, Mr. Winchester then begged the privilege of explaining and defending his own sentiments for two hours, and finally for only one hour; but as might have been anticipated, they who dared not meet him on equal ground, dared not allow him to exhibit his strength: his request was wholly refused. They felt, however, the necessity of providing some business worthy of the great preparations that had been made; and accordingly, when one of the ministers rose and said that *their business was not to debate with Mr. Winchester, but to ask him whether he believed that bad men and angels would finally be restored*, the rest immediately agreed, and insisted that the question should be put to him, "*Do you believe in Universal Restoration?*" Mr. Winchester's friends objected to his answering this question, unless he had leave to vindicate his sentiments; but he rose, and, observing that he feared no use which could be made of his words, told them plainly that he did believe the doctrine of Universal Restoration, and was willing

to defend it. After some conversation, the ministers present advised the church to obtain another pastor; and the matter was so managed, that though Mr. Winchester's adherents were at first a majority of the society, the scale was soon turned against them, and they were excluded from the Meeting House.

Mr. Winchester was now about thirty years old. The public interview put an end to that reserve which the entreaties of his friends, and his own dread of contention had induced him, for three months, to maintain in his preaching. During the rest of his life, we are to contemplate him an avowed and devoted advocate of Universalism.

As he and his adherents were destitute of a house for public worship, the *Pennsylvania University* magnanimously allowed them the use of their Hall. Here Mr. Winchester delivered a sermon on the 22d of April, from Genesis iii. 15, in which he for the first time, preached his new sentiments plainly. The opposition to his meeting was general and bitter. The weak-minded were appalled at the audacity of a man who denied infinite wrath the gratification of endless torture; the bigotted abhorred what was, to them, so entirely new; and they who drew their support or their influence from the common doctrines, would not be backward to join the *hue and cry*. Some predicted that he would soon become an Atheist; and others, that he would abandon himself to the most infamous licentiousness.

He found himself, however, attended by a respectable congregation. Nearly half of his late church followed him, and with him sustained the indignity of excommunication. Accessions were made from other quarters, and a new church was soon formed, in which the sacrament was regularly administered. Unpopular as he was, there were some gentlemen of eminence in the city, who were not afraid to countenance him; among whom may be mentioned Dr. Redman, and the celebrated Dr. Benjamin Rush, both admirers of Winchester, and believers in Universalism.

After preaching in Philadelphia, and its neighborhood, for a few years, Mr. Winchester came to the resolution to visit England, of which circumstance, and his labors in that country, I have treated fully in another chapter.[c]

IV. Dr. Charles Chauncy was pastor of the First Congregational Church in Boston, and, at the time of Mr. Winchester's conversion, had arrived nearly at the age of eighty years. He had, in a great measure, retired from the duties of the ministry; and as his life was evidently drawing to a close, he was busily engaged in preparing for the press his treatise on *The Salvation of all men.* He had undertaken, about 1750, a close and critical study of the Scriptures, particularly the epistles of St. Paul, and in order to do this the more thoroughly, he consulted all the principal helps to a right understanding

[c] I have made full use of the Memoir of Mr. Winchester, published in the Universalist Magazine, vol. vi. pp. 189.

of the Scriptures which were to be found in the libraries of Boston and its vicinity, besides sending to England for many books which could not be found in this country. Seven years of the best part of his life was spent in this study, and a conviction of the truth of Universal Salvation was the result. He had no suspicion this was a scriptural doctrine, till he was led into it by a diligent comparing of scripture with scripture; and when he closed that labor, on a review of the whole, he was surprised at the clearness with which he found that doctrine revealed. It was at this time that he collected the materials for his book on Universal Salvation, which he soon after arranged, and then laid by for his own re-examination, and the reading of some learned friends, to whom, probably under injunctions of secresy, he made the matter known. Another motive which might also have induced him to lay the work by for a time, was an unwillingness to avow himself to the public as a Universalist. For notwithstanding the boldness with which he had attacked the public errors, during the *Whitfieldian* revivals, he was really in doubt whether to let the work, which he esteemed the most valuable of all he had written, go before the public, or whether to commit it to the flames. In 1782, a pamphlet was published in Boston, the subject of which will be best learned from the title: "*Salvation for all men, illustrated and vindicated as a Scripture doctrine, in numerous extracts from a variety of pious and learned men, who have purposely writ upon the subject; together with*

their answers to the objections urged against it. By one who wishes well to mankind." Chauncy has been pronounced the author; and some have thought he published it for the purpose of ascertaining how Universalism on his system would be received by the public, thereby to determine whether it would be prudent to affix his name to his larger work on that subject. There was already in Boston a general prejudice against the sentiments of Mr. Murray, who had occasionally preached there for upwards of eight years; and the author of the pamphlet courted popular favor by expressing an utter abhorrence of Murray and his doctrine, which he said was "in direct contradiction to the whole of the New Testament books, from their beginning to their end." As might have been expected, the pamphlet had not laid long before the public, when it was attacked from various quarters, particularly by Dr. Samuel Mather of Boston, who preached in the house now occupied by the First Universalist Society, and by Dr. Gordon, of Roxbury, the author of a history of the Revolution. In November an anonymous pamphlet appeared, entitled "*Divine Glory brought to view in the condemnation of the Ungodly: or the doctrine of Future Punishment, illustrated and vindicated as rational and true.*" In the conclusion this author expostulates with the clergy on the necessity of opposing Universalism from the pulpit; and intimates, in allusion we think to Chauncy and his particular friends, that those who do not, will be

suspected of being in doubt upon the subject, and if not *publicly*, yet *secretly*, its abettor and friend.

The result in Dr. Chauncy's mind appears to have been, that it would be inexpedient for him to publish, with his own name, his principal work on Universalism. But rather than commit it to the flames, he sent it across the Atlantic, and it appeared anonymously in London, in 1784. It has never been so much read, nor by common readers so highly esteemed, as some other treatises on the same subject. Although a work of much learning, and of uniform candor and fair reasoning, yet its style is too stiff, and its method of argumentation too dull and prolix for popular taste. Its main object is to prove the doctrine of Universal Salvation. In the first part the author states his object. In the second he sustains his position by showing that Christ suffered for all men; that God's purpose is to save all; that he will through Christ finally reconcile every individual to his moral government; and that accordingly whenever the Scriptures speak of those who shall be eventually restored, they use expressions of unlimited import, such as "all the nations and families of the earth," and "every creature which is in heaven and on the earth." These positions he supports wholly by the testimony of Scripture, some passages of which he attempts to illustrate by paraphrases and notes sufficiently tedious to defy all patience. In the third and last part he answers the objections commonly urged; and here he maintains that the terms applied to future punishment are such as naturally

indicate that it will end, so that he should have inferred the doctrine of annihilation, had not God promised that all shall be saved.

To this book, in 1790, the younger President Edwards published an answer, which has been thought the ablest work that has appeared against Universalism. "Its arguments are often founded on scholastic theology rather than on simple truth; and while it evinces much ability, it fails of affecting Chauncy's general system, though it exposes some heterogeneous notions in it. It is certain that Edwards either misunderstood, or misrepresented Chauncy's meaning on several important points."

V. At the close of the last chapter we left Mr. Murray in Gloucester, surrounded by a few steadfast friends, who had erected a Meeting House, and seemed to be enjoying a brief respite from persecution. The aged Mr. Chandler had deceased; and on the settlement of Mr. Forbes, the Universalists, not believing his doctrine, dissented from the measure, and, as has been stated, formed an independent society. At the time this society came into being, the Constitution of Massachusetts had not been drawn up, the United States were involved in the war of the Revolution, and there seems to have been no regularly prescribed method for the formation of societies distinct from the original parishes. The Universalists in Gloucester therefore, considered themselves as constituted a christian society, by framing and subscribing articles of association, and by electing their religious teacher. In

the summer of 1780, the new Constitution for the State went into effect, in which it was provided, "that the several towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic, or religious societies, shall, at all times, have the exclusive right of electing their public teachers, and of contracting with them for their support and maintenance: and all monies paid by the subject to the support of public worship, and of the public teachers aforesaid, shall, if he require it, be uniformly applied to the support of the public teacher or teachers of his own religious sect or denomination, provided there be any on whose instructions he attends; otherwise it may be paid towards the support of the teacher or teachers of the parish or precinct in which the said monies are raised: and every denomination of christians, demeaning themselves peaceably, and as good subjects of the commonwealth, shall be equally under the protection of the law; and no subordination of any one sect or denomination to another shall ever be established by law."[7] "It was intended by the framers of the Constitution," says Bradford, "that every citizen should enjoy perfect liberty of conscience, every one was to worship according to such form or mode as his conscience should dictate, and pay to such teacher as he might attend."[8]

Notwithstanding the association of the Universalists in Gloucester into a religious society, they were taxed to defray the expenses of the old par-

[7] Third Article of the Bill of Rights.
[8] Hist. of Massachusetts, Boston, 1825, p. 187.

ish. A demand which seemed to them so unreasonable, they refused to satisfy; and thereupon their goods were seized by an officer and sold at auction. An action was instituted for the recovery of the property; and, after great solicitation, Mr. Murray consented that it should be brought in his name. He had hitherto refused any stipulated salary; but his friends being assured by their attornies that their case was hopeless, unless Mr. Murray became the plaintiff, he, at last, with great reluctance permitted it. The question now to be decided was one of great importance; it was the first of the kind which had occurred under the new Constitution. Whether a society could be known in law, unless it were a body corporate, and what shall constitute a teacher of piety, morality and religion, were questions the decision of which affected not Universalists alone, but all other sects which dissented from the original parish. The Universalists in Gloucester saw clearly the importance of the case to be decided, as it affected the interests of the various denominations in the commonwealth; and, advised by counsel of the highest standing, they moved forward with a firm and steady step.

VI. The case came on for trial in the year 1783. The ground taken by Mr. Murray's opponents was, that no teacher could have a right to recover the money paid by his sect, unless the person demanding it is the teacher of a town, parish, precinct, or a society legally organized, and vested with civil and corporate powers. It was furthermore object-

ed, that Mr. Murray's followers had no name or appellation of Protestant christians, and were not known in the country as a sect; and that Mr. Murray did not come within the meaning of the law, as he was not a teacher of piety, religion and morality. "We beg leave to ask," said his opponents, "can a man who publicly discards the doctrine of God's moral government, of future rewards and punishments, urge, with a good face, or with any hope of success, the practice of morality? Can he consistently preach up morality, when he at the same time saps its very foundation, and cuts the nerves of christian piety, by blending all characters together, and by making all equally holy, because equally united to Christ in his incarnation?"[9] In reply the Universalists said, "whether he is a teacher of piety, religion and morality, cannot be determined from a revision of the motives he offers as to the rewards and the punishments which are to be bestowed or inflicted in another world. We believe that the question must be decided by the evidence of his urging the people to piety and morality, as the foundation of the greatest good which their natures are capable of, and as a compliance with the will of their Almighty Creator and Preserver, without going into an inquiry of his opinion respecting the quantity of punishment in a future state.

That God will punish men for sin, in such a manner as will far overbalance the pleasures which can

[9] See the "Answer" to an Appeal, &c. 1785, p. p. 17, 18.

be derived from vice in this world, is so clearly pointed out in the gospel, that we are compelled to believe it; but whether the opinion of some learned and good men, who imagine that the wicked will be annihilated; or whether that of the learned Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Priestly, and many others, who believe that there is a temporary hell prepared for the ungodly, which is another state of probation, or any other opinion respecting that subject is best, every one must determine for himself. Neither statutes, penalties or rewards, can force, or allure, a man to consent to the truth of a proposition, without sufficient evidence received by a mind capable of examining, and applying of it.

The idea, that it is necessary to the good order of civil government, that the teachers of religion should thunder out the doctrine of everlasting punishment, to deter men from atrocious crimes, which they may otherwise commit in secret, has long been hackneyed in the hands of men in power; but without any warrant from reason, or revelation for doing of it; for reason itself, without the aid of revelation, gave no intimation of a state of retribution; it was the Gospel which brought life, and immortality to light. God, in the civil constitution which he was pleased to form for the Jews, strongly prohibited murder, perjury, adultery, and many other crimes which men might then commit in secret; but in no one instance, gave an intimation, that the Jews should be punished in another world for their crimes in this. Had a threatening of that na-

ture been necessary to the support of civil government, we might with propriety look for it there. It was not till the Christian Church was illegally weded to state policy, that men in power dared to hurl the thunders of the Most High at those who offended against government; and even then modesty forbade it, only as they arrogantly pretended to do it for the honor of God, and the advantage of religion."[o]

This case was kept in court for a long time. Trial succeeded trial, and review followed review, at Salem and at Ipswich, in 1783, 1784, and 1785. In the fall of the latter year a writ of review was again served, but the final decision was deferred until June, 1786, when a verdict was given in favor of Mr. Murray. The conduct of Judge Dana attracted particular notice. The view he had taken of the case in former trials was unfavorable to the *plaintiff*; but a revolution had passed in his mind. When he noticed that article in the Constitution which directs that monies may be applied by each person to teachers of his own religious sect, he said the whole cause depended upon the construction of that clause. He had before been of opinion it meant teachers of bodies corporate; he then thought otherwise; as the Constitution was meant for a liberal purpose, its construction should be of a most liberal kind; it meant, in this instance, teachers of any persuasion whatever, Jew or Mahomet-

o Appeal, &c. 1785, pp. 16—18.

an. It would be for the Jury to determine, if Mr. Murray was a teacher of piety, religion and morality; that matter, he said, had in his opinion been fully proved. The only question, therefore, before them was, if Mr. Murray came within the description of the Constitution, and had a right to require the money. "It is my opinion," he declared, "that Mr. Murray comes within the description of the Constitution, and has a right to require the money." Having been out all night, the jury returned a verdict in the morning in favor of the plaintiff.

VII. Thus protected in the enjoyment of their religious rights by the decision of the highest judicial tribunal in the commonwealth, and by the verdict of an impartial jury, the Universalists in Gloucester went fearlessly on; rejoicing that it fell to their lot to resist the beginnings of oppression under the new Constitution, and to test, at so early a period, its liberal provision in favor of the freest toleration. Additions were made to their number; Mr. Murray was their most constant preacher, and they were occasionally visited by other public laborers of kindred views; success, above their highest anticipations, crowned their exertions. Such prosperity on their part, caused their enemies to break out in the following lamentation: "Besides their present teacher, they have in their train a *Tyler*, who by report is a tory Episcopalian—a *Wright*, who is a German Moravian—with an illiterate *Townsend*, *Streeter*, *Parker*, *a duplicate of Winchesters*, *&c. &c.* A goodly band indeed! With

such strolling mendicants this town has been infested ever since this society has been formed; which has kept us in one continual hubbub, to the obstructing of business, corrupting the morals of youth especially, and the total destruction of peace and harmony."[1] The Mr. Tyler here referred to, was the Rev. John Tyler, pastor of the Episcopal church in Norwich, Conn. who had early embraced Mr. Murray's sentiments, and who continued until his death in that station. He published six discourses, entitled *Universal Damnation and Salvation, clearly proved by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, &c.*" They form a very interesting defence of Universalism upon the Rellyan principles. Mr. Shippie Townsend was a highly respected citizen of Boston, who afterwards became the author of several miscellaneous works, more or less in favor of that doctrine. He espoused the cause at an early period, and adorned the doctrine with godliness until his death. Of Mr. Streeter we have already spoken. The Rev. Noah Parker had been a citizen of Portsmouth; and on his conversion to the sentiments of Mr. Murray, he engaged in the work of the ministry. A convenient house was raised for his use by the Universalists in that town, and he continued, until his departure out of time, an able minister of the reconciliation. The *duplicate* of Winchesters were Elhanan, and his brother Moses, who commenced preaching Universalism in

[1] Answer to "An Appeal," &c.

1784, and who labored in the field of his master for nine years, when he was cut down by a cancer, and died in Philadelphia, on the 17th of Feb. 1793. Of the recklessness of the spirit which could denominate such men *strolling mendicants*, nothing need be said; nor shall we speak of the tendency of their doctrines, since the lives of those who embraced their sentiments have formed the most irrefutable evidence, that men love God when they have learned that he first loved them.

VIII. Mr. Murray's labors had produced a wide effect in New-England and the middle states. At Philadelphia Mr. Winchester had established the doctrine of Universalism upon a permanent basis, and added the illustrious name of [redacted] RUSH[2]

[2] Dr. Rush addressed several letters to Mr. Winchester while the latter was in London. In one bearing date Philadelphia, May 11, 1791, he says, "The Universal Doctrine prevails more and more in our country, particularly among persons eminent for their piety, in whom it is not a mere speculation, but a new principle of action in the heart, prompting to practical godliness."

Again he writes.

Philadelphia, Nov. 12, 1791.

Dear Sir—Accept my thanks for your long letter by the *Pigou*, and your valuable publications which accompanied it. Your letters to Mr. Taylor contain many new and striking ideas. Your funeral sermon for Mr. John Wesley does honor to the philanthropy of your universal principles. I admire and honor that great man above any man that has lived since the time of the Apostles: his writings will ere long revive *in support of our doctrine*—for if Christ died for *all*, as Mr. Wesley always taught, it will soon appear a necessary consequence that *all* shall be saved. But what shall I say to your fourth volume of Lectures on the Prophecies? Accept my thanks over and over, for the instruction and entertainment I have derived from reading them. They are now in the hands of my dear friend, and old preceptor in medicine, Dr. Redman, who speaks in the highest terms of them, and calls you our *Theological Newton*. Go on, my dear

to the list of his friends. The Rev. Mr. Duchee, of the Episcopal church, was known to have received into his heart a firm faith in universal happiness. In New York there was a company of Universalists. At Providence they had associated under the name of the "Providence Universalists." A growing interest was kept up in Boston, and likewise in the interior of Massachusetts, and the adjacent parts of the adjoining states, by the three or four preachers who had embraced, and whose sole labor it now was to diffuse, the sentiment of impartial and triumphant grace. With this knowledge of the circumstances under which Universalism took its rise in this land of free inquiry and unlimited toleration, the reader will be prepared to learn with what rapidity it has been diffused for the last forty years.

sir, with your researches into the true meaning of the Scriptures. * * * * * * The benevolent spirit which has lately appeared in the world, in its governments—in its numerous philanthropic and humane societies—and even in public entertainments, remind me of the first efforts of a child to move its body or limbs. These efforts are strong, but irregular, and often in a contrary direction to that which is intended. Time and a few unsuccessful experiments soon bring these motions into a proper direction. The same will happen, I have no doubt, to the present kind, but irregular and convulsive impulses of the human heart. At present they lead men to admire and celebrate human lights, and human deliverers—but ere long, public admiration and praise will rise to him who is the true light of the world, and who only delivers from evils of *every kind*. At present we wish liberty to the whole world—but the next touch of the celestial magnet upon the human heart will direct it into wishes for the *salvation of all mankind*. Yours sincerely. BENJAMIN RUSH.

CHAPTER X.

HISTORY OF THE GENERAL CONVENTION, AND NOTICES OF SOME PUBLICATIONS ON THE UNIVERSALIAN CONTROVERSY.

I. Societies professing faith in Universalism had been formed in several towns in Massachusetts, as early as the year 1785, as in Gloucester, Boston, Milford, Oxford, Warwick, &c. &c. The society in Boston occupied the house in which they assemble at the present day, and which was purchased on the 29th of December of that year, by Shippie Townsend, James Prentiss, Jonathan Stoddard, John Page and Josiah Snelling, the committee of the society. It had been formerly occupied by the society attending on the ministry of Dr. Samuel Mather. Mr. Murray and Elder Adam Streeter occasionally preached here. In Oxford the attention of a few individuals was first drawn to the subject of Universalism by the conversation of Dr. Isaac Davis, who visited that place from Somers, Conn. He was at this time an aged man, and it is said he had preached the doctrine, and published a book in favor of it.[3] Mr. Murray was soon invited to visit

[3] I have never seen this work. The statements concerning Dr Davis are made on the testimony of several of the aged Universalists in Oxford.

them; and Elder Streeter became their minister, whom they supported by free contribution; and being under engagement to the society at the time of his death, the remnant of his salary for that year was paid to his widow.

II. The society in Oxford may truly be stiled the parent of the General Convention of Universalists. At a meeting, Aug. 5th 1785, they voted "that the society write to the Rev. Mr. Murray, and the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, desiring their assistance as public teachers, at an Association appointed by this society, the 14th day of September next, to meet at Oxford at 9 o'clock, A. M." After receiving this invitation, Mr. Murray, then at Gloucester, wrote his fellow laborer, Mr. Noah Parker at Portsmouth, as follows: "Although very much indisposed, I am commencing a journey to Oxford, where I expect to meet a number of our religious brethren, from different towns in which the gospel has been preached and believed, for the purpose of deliberating upon some plan to defeat the designs of our enemies, who aim at robbing us of the liberty wherewith the constitution has made us free. On my return, I shall communicate to you the result of our meeting."[4] Letters were also despatched by the society in Oxford to all the Universalist societies in Massachusetts, and to some in other states, requesting them to send delegates to the contemplated meeting. These Letters were signed by Daniel Fisk, clerk of

[4] Life of Murray, edition of 1827, p. 298.

the Oxford Society. Mr. Murray went as delegate from Gloucester, Shippie Townsend from Boston, Mr. Rich from Warwick, Ebenezer Sumner and Noah Wiswall from Milford, and several delegates from other societies were present. Mr. Winchester was chosen Moderator, and Daniel Fisk, Clerk. Mr. Murray has fully related the business that was done, in a letter to his friend at Portsmouth, who has been already named. "Well, I have been to Oxford, and the assembly convened there was truly primitive. We deliberated first on a *name*; secondly, on the propriety of being united in our common defence; thirdly, upon the utility of an annual meeting of representatives from the different societies; and fourthly, upon keeping up a constant correspondence by letter. Each of these particulars are to be laid before the societies, represented by their delegates on this occasion, and, if approved, their approbation to be announced by circular letters to the several societies. Mr. Winchester delivered a most excellent sermon; his subject was, "but though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed.' By the desire of Mr. Winchester, I closed the subject."[5] To distinguish themselves from other sects, they took the name of *Independent Christian Universalists*. If not recognized in law as a distinct sect, they would have been compelled to pay taxes to the

[5] Life of Murray.

original parishes in the towns in which they resided; and they were influenced by this reason more than any other to establish themselves under some common form of government, and to be known by some common name. On this account they furthermore proposed to the several Universalist societies, to associate themselves by a "Charter of Compact," into one body, and recommended also an annual Convention, the first meeting to be holden in Boston, the second Wednesday in September, 1786.

The Universalists in Providence, R. I. on receiving the resolves of this meeting, with a copy of the "Charter of Compact,"[6] concluded to keep up a

[6] A copy of the Charter of Compact I found on the records both of the Oxford and Milford societies. It appears to have been drawn up originally for the use of the society in Gloucester; and was undoubtedly laid before the Association at Oxford by Mr. Murray, to whose pen we may perhaps attribute it. It is worthy of preservation, and here follows. Let the zeal and piety which it manifests be a reproof to some, who, though living in happier times, make not so good a use of their privileges.

CHARTER OF COMPACT.

"As it is of the greatest importance, and conduces to the safety and happiness of a Society, to form themselves in a way which is most happifying and secure in the great matters of Religion and Morality, and to take all such salutary measures as are pointed out in the Constitution, we therefere, who have set our names hereunto, convinced by reason and truth, do by our own inclination mutually engage and pledge ourselves, each to the other, and enter into the following Charter of Compact.

1. That there be a stated annual meeting of the Society on the second Wednesday in April every year, for the purpose of choosing a select committee, whose power shall be as hereafter defined, and that there be at the same time a clerk chosen to this Society.

2. That there be funds provided by voluntary subscription for the purpose of supporting a teacher or teachers of Piety, Religion and Morality, and for the purpose of assisting poor and distressed brethren.

friendly correspondence with the several societies, approved the measures of the late meeting, and also the proposal for an annual Convention. By their clerk, Mr. Zephaniah Andrews, they wrote to Gloucester, sympathized with the brethren there in

3. The powers of the Compact are to extend to the calling of a meeting or meetings of the Society, when they shall think proper, or on request of five of the Society.

4. They have power to admit new subscribers: they shall likewise acquaint the Clerk of their proceedings in order that he may keep a regular record.

5. The Clerk shall record the transactions both of the society and committee, in a book open to the inspection of any one.

6. The Clerk shall be Treasurer of the Society, and shall regularly report both of the reception and distribution of monies to the Compact at every annual meeting.

7. All who shall subscribe and not punctually pay, shall be exempt from the privileges of the Charter of Compact, and the Compact have discretionary power to remit subscriptions on reasonable representations made to them.

8. The Subscriptions shall be paid to the Clerk, which will render useless the office of a Collector.

9. Subscriptions shall be opened at the annual meetings, and continue at those periods, unless any circumstances shall require them more frequently.

10. All Subscribers shall have an equal vote.

11. All questions shall be determined by two thirds of the present members, and seven shall constitute a meeting.

12. Every member or Subscriber shall have a free liberty to withdraw his name from this Charter whenever he shall see fit.

13. Whereas the privilege of choosing one's own religion is inestimable, in order to maintain that privilege unimpaired, in case any person associating with us shall suffer persecution from an unlawful exercise of power, we do agree and resolve to afford all legal measures of extricating him from difficulty, and of enabling him to enjoy that freedom which is held forth in the Constitution.

14. And be it universally known, that we who have set our names to this Charter of Compact for the purposes heretofore named, are composed of and belong to the Independent Christian Society, in ———, commonly called *Universalists*. As christians we acknowledge no Master but Christ Jesus, and as disciples we profess to follow no guide in spiritual matters but his word and spirit; as dwellers in this world we hold ourselves bound to yield obedience to every ordinance of man for God's sake, and we will be obedient subjects to the powers that

their difficulties, and wished them a happy conclusion of their law-suit. They encouraged them with the hope that the present troubles of the Universalists would work together for their good, by uniting them, and making their interest one; and though dispersed, they would, like the first planters of America, or like the several states, unite for the mutual benefit of the whole. "This," they say, "is agreeable to sound policy, and consistent with self-preservation, the first and greatest law of Nature, as Pope hath well expressed it:

> 'Great Nature spake, obedient man obey'd,
> Cities were built, societies were made;
> Here rose one little state, another near,
> Grew by like means, and join'd through love or fear.'"

Whether the Convention met in Boston in September, 1786, agreeably to appointment at Oxford

are ordained of God in all civil cases; but as subjects of that King whose kingdom is not of this world, we cannot acknowledge the right of any human authority to make laws for the regulation of our consciences in spiritual matters. Thus as a true independent Church of Christ, looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith, we mutually agree to walk together in Christian fellowship, building up each other in our most holy faith, rejoicing in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and determining by his grace no more to be entangled by any yoke of bondage. As disciples of the meek and lowly Jesus, we resolve as far as in us lieth to live peaceably with all men, yet as believers, living godly in Christ Jesus, we expect to suffer as much persecution as the laws of the country we live in will admit of. But we resolve by the grace of God, none of these things shall move us to act inconsistently with our character as Christians.

We will as much as possible avoid vain jangling and unnecessary disputation; and should we be reviled, endeavour in patience to possess our souls. As an Independent Church of Christ, thus bound together by the cords of love, and uniting together in his name, we mutually agree to meet together to worship our divine Lord and Master, as circumstances shall or may require, that we may the more effectually shew forth his praise who hath called us out of darkness into his marvellous light, we resolve to pay a serious regard to all the exhortations,

the preceding year, we cannot say with confidence. The early records of the society in Boston, what few there are, were kept in so desultory a manner, that we derive no knowledge from this source. We think there can be but little doubt, however, that the meeting took place. Mr. Murray was in the neighborhood, the place of meeting was central, and a correspondence having been kept up between the societies during the year, there was a general understanding that delegates were to be sent to Boston to the Convention. The Gloucester society, in a letter to their friends at Oxford, spoke of the Convention as follows: "We look forward with much satisfaction to the annual meeting proposed to be held at Boston in September, 1786, at which time we will not fail to be there by our representatives." From Boston the Convention adjourned to Milford, Mass. Who were there, and what business was done, we cannot say. We find the following vote endorsed on the Oxford records: "September 3, 1787. "Voted and chose Lieut. Abijah Harris, Joseph Davis, Samuel Davis and Ebenezer Rich, of Sutton, delegates for this society, to meet at Milford at the Annual Convention on Wednesday next." Here all documents fail us, and we can learn no more of this body until

admonitions and instructions given to us by the spirit of God in the epistles dictated to our holy apostles. We will as far as in us lieth do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith. We will by the grace of God, in word and in deed, endeavour to adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour, as children of one Father, and members of one head who are united together in Church fellowship, bound by the love of our dear Saviour."

1791, when it met again at Oxford, where Rev. Hosea Ballou attended for the first time. We have seen no record of this year; but give the statement on the authority of the individual mentioned. Of 1792, we can learn nothing; but from 1793, with the exception of one or two years, the records are regularly made in a book in possession of the standing clerk.

III. The session of 1793 was held in Oxford. The Circular, signed by Mr. Murray as Moderator, and George Richards as Clerk, will give an imperfect idea of the extent to which Universalism had prevailed at this period. It commences as follows: "The Ministers, Elders and Messengers, appointed by the Universal Churches and Societies in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut and New-York, to represent said Churches and Societies in General Convention at Oxford, Mass. September 4th, 1793—

To their brethren in the faith of the gospel, resident at Boston, Gloucester, Rehoboth, Bellingham, Milford, Providence, Attleboro', Grafton, Oxford, Charlton, Sutton, Thompson, Ward, Richmond, Warwick, Orange, Winchester, Clarendon, Apollet, Kingsbury, Whitehall, Granville, Ball's-Town, Milton, Portsmouth, Alstead, Langdon, Chesterfield, Hardwick, Petersham, Grantham, Warner, Deering, Woodstock, Preston, Wallingford, &c. and to every church and society scattered abroad in the states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, Connecticut, Vermont and New-York, they

most fervently wish the fulness of the blessings of the Gospel of Christ, THE SAVIOUR OF THE WORLD."

In this Circular, written in Mr. Murray's happiest style, there are two things worthy of notice: 1st. The societies and elders found mutual cause for rejoicing and consolation, that *so many* of their dear brethren were "coming up from the wilderness of time, leaning on their beloved, in whom they are accepted, and who is made of God unto them, wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption." 2d. We are deeply interested by the zeal with which they exhorted one another to the performance of good works.

In 1794, Mr. Winchester returned from England. He began immediately to travel through the country, preaching Universalism whithersoever he went, particularly in Boston, Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, Newton, Hingham, Hull, Milford, Dudley, Western, Monson, Charlton, Grafton, Oxford, Brimfield, and in various parts of Connecticut. The Meeting Houses of different denominations were thrown open to him, and where these could not be had, the people assembled in private dwelling houses. "I never saw," says he, "the country so open to me as it is now. I preached twenty-five sermons in the month of September, which, considering my state of weakness, is as much as could be expected. If I had the health and strength now which I had twenty-four years ago, when I first began to preach, I could labor to far greater advantage and better purpose than I ever did." In

Sept. 1794 the Convention met again at Oxford. Mr. Winchester was present, and was elected Moderator, and Mr. Joab Young was Clerk. A Committee was chosen to prepare a catechism for the use of children, and Elders Michael Coffin and Joab Young were sent forth, by vote of the Convention, as Missionaries for one year.

The Convention met at Bennington, Vt. on Sept. 16th, 1795. Mr. Murray was elected, Moderator, and Hosea Ballou, clerk.

1796. At Winchester, N. H. on the third Wednesday in Sept. Zebulon Streeter, Moderator.

1797. At Milford, Mass. Shippie Townsend, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk.

1798. At Hardwick, Mass. No records of this year.

1799. At Woodstock, Vt. Sept. 4th. Hosea Ballou, Moderator; Walter Ferris, Clerk.

1800. At Orange, Mass. on Wednesday 17th Sept. George Richards, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk. Letters of Fellowship and license to preach were granted to Miles T. Wooley, Edward Turner, Joshua Flagg, Edwin Ferris, Edmund Pillsbury, John Foster and Samuel Mead. It was voted, among many other things, "that the Moderator of this Convention do correspond with the Societies at the Southward, and also with the Eastern Association, Me. forwarding unto them a particular account of the several churches and societies within the sphere of his knowledge, and requesting the same in return from them and theirs." The Con-

vention requested the Societies to consider whether the ordinances of the New-Testament are not the commandments of the Lord the Saviour, and as such, whether they are not worthy of acceptation.

1801. At Swanzey, N. H. on the 16th of Sept. Zebulon Streeter, Moderator; George Richards, Clerk. "Thomas Barnes, presiding elder of the Eastern Association, opened the Convention by fervent prayer." Solomon Glover, Cornelius Gray Parsons, and James Babbitt received Letters of fellowship. A committee was appointed to ordain Br. Thomas Barnes, of Poland, Me. on Thursday, Jan. 6th, 1802. This committee was Edmund Pillsbury, Zephaniah Lathe and George Richards. To the Circular of this year is attached a list of "the approved ministers and elders," as follows: John Murray, Joab Young, Edward Turner, Hosea Ballou, Caleb Rich, Zebulon Streeter, David Ballou, Ebenezer Paine, Miles T. Wooley, Solomon Glover, Thomas Barnes, Edmund Pillsbury, James Babbitt, C. G. Parsons, John Foster, Zephaniah Lathe, William Farewell, Edwin Ferris, Walter Ferris, Samuel Smith, Joshua Flagg, George Richards.

1802. At Strafford, Vt. on the 15th Sept. Zebulon Streeter, Moderator; and Hosea Ballou, Clerk; Joshua Flagg, Assistant Reader. Isaac Root, Samuel Hilliard and James Foster received fellowship as preachers. A Committee consisting of Z. Streeter, G. Richards, H. Ballou, W. Ferriss and Z. Lathe, were appointed "to form a plan of fellowship in

faith and practice." Christopher Erskine of Claremont, N. H. who had been sued for taxes by the Congregational Society in that town, prayed for advice. The Judges of the Supreme Court had decided that Congregationalists and Universalists were the same sect in the eye of the law, and Erskine had lost his case. This, it was thought, had opened the door for endless suits against the Universalists. Mr. Richards was appointed to present a memorial to the Judges on the subject. The Convention directed a stone to be placed at the grave of Mr. Winchester, in Hartford, Con. Attempts were made to raise a "Conventional Fund," for the purpose of printing useful books, assisting travelling preachers, and for the benefit of the widows and fatherless. A long address on this subject was sent with the Circular this year.

1803. At Winchester, N. H. Zebulon Streeter, Moderator; Noah Murray, Clerk; Edward Turner, Assistant Reader. Abner Kneeland received fellowship. This year the Profession of Belief and Plan of the Convention were reported and accepted. As they have been several times republished in the Universalist Periodical Journals, they need not here be inserted. A special address was also sent out at this session to the Universalists in New-Hampshire, "occasioned by the decision of the honorable the Judges of the Supreme Court of said State, adjudging the payment of ministerial taxes to Congregational ministers." They complain that by this decision a whole body of professing chris-

tians in that state, are blotted from the volume of legal existence. The brethren are exhorted to stand firm. The points of faith in which Congregationalists and Universalists differ are pointed out, by which it is shown that they cannot be one and the same denomination. The sufferers are persuaded to submit peaceably, as good citizens, until redress should be had of the Legislature. An effort for relief should be made at the approaching session. We know not to whose pen to attribute this article; but it is certainly one of the most spirited and reasonable documents in the whole Book of Records. The Profession of Belief was drawn up to show that Universalists differed from all others, and were necessarily a distinct sect.

1804. At Sturbridge, Mass. on the 19th of September. John Murray, Moderator; Edward Turner, Clerk; Hosea Ballou, Assistant Clerk. Several ordained at this session.

1805. At Westmoreland, N. H. 17th September. Zebulon Streeter, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; Joshua Flagg, Assistant Clerk. Calvin Eaton, Eneas Lamb, Paul Dean, Sebastian Streeter and J. Felch received Letters of fellowship.

1806. At Hoosack Falls, N. Y. No records.

1807. At Newtown, Conn. September 15th. Hosea Ballou, Moderator; Abner Kneeland, Clerk; Edward Turner, Assistant Clerk. H. Ballou, A. Kneeland and E. Turner were appointed a committee to publish a Hymn Book.

1808. At Washington, N. H. September 21st, George Richards, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; and Joshua Flagg, Assistant Clerk. Zebulon Streeter had deceased, and a committee of condolence were appointed to wait on his family. In the circular of this year it is said, "A great and effectual door is opening in many places. Our respected brother H. Ballou, has seen the wilderness and the desert blossom as the rose. A call for his usefulness is sounding from the East and the West. The North is giving up, and the South has no power to keep back. Salem, one of the principal towns in Massachusetts, is preparing the way of the Lord, and our beloved brother Turner is saluted thence with the Macedonian cry, "Come hither and help us." The society in Gloucester, Cape Ann, united under brother Jones, are continually receiving additions; and have been enabled to finish a large and elegant house. Brother Root has improved to much edification at Haverhill, Plaistow, South Hampton and other places, in the course of the last summer. Brother Streeter has had many calls where the Abrahamic faith had been scarcely heard of, and improved his talents to the glory of God, and the happiness of his offspring. The Philadelphians are shaking themselves from the dust. Their temporal light has come in the light of brother Noah Murray, and the society is completing the Meeting House in Lombard-street, at great expense. A new and commodious house has been erected at

Portsmouth, and the brethren generally appear to be grounded in faith, upon the rock of ages."

1809. At Barnard, Vt. September 20th, at the house of brother Hosea Ballou. Thomas Barnes, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; Paul Dean, Assistant Clerk. Timothy Bigelow and Nathaniel Smith received ordination, and Dan Shaw, Luscombe Knapp and David Pickering, received Letters of Fellowship. It was voted "that the Convention entertain and hold fervent and christian friendship and fellowship with brother George Richards, who has recently removed from Portsmouth to Philadelphia, and that we request him to accept our sincere thanks for the many services which he has faithfully discharged in the capacity of presiding elder over our body, and in other offices of important trust." The intended removal of brother H. Ballou from Barnard to Portsmouth, was approved.

1810. At Langdon, N. H. Thomas Barnes, Moderator; Abner Kneeland, Clerk; Edward Turner, Assistant Clerk. Russell Streeter received a Letter of Fellowship.

1811. At Lebanon, N. H. September 17th. Thomas Barnes, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; Edward Turner, Assistant Clerk. This year A. Kneeland was appointed *standing* clerk, with instructions "*to collect, if possible, all the proceedings of the Convention since that body has existed, with the Circular Letters annually issued, and to record the whole, and from year to*

year make record of all such transactions in a suitable book, to be purchased at the charge of the Convention."[7]

1812. At Cavendish, Vt. 15th September. Thomas Barnes, Moderator; Hosea Ballou Clerk; Paul Dean, Assistant Clerk.

1813. At Winchester, N. H. September 14th. Abner Kneeland, Moderator; Paul Dean, Clerk; Sebastian Streeter, Assistant Clerk. A correspondence had been begun between some of the brethren and the Universalists in England, when it was voted that it should be carried on in the name of the Convention, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. A recompense was voted Mr. Kneeland for the book he had obtained, and for his services in collecting and recording documents of the General Convention, "from its first organization up to the present time, being, as they *erroneously* say, twenty years." A catalogue of the preachers was published, who at that time amounted to forty.

1814. At Westmoreland, N. H. September 20th. Richard Carrique, Moderator; Paul Dean, Clerk; Joshua Flagg, Assistant Clerk. S. R. Smith and S. C. Loveland, ordained. A vote of patronage was passed in reference to a contemplated seminary, "embracing the united interests of religion and literature"; and a large committee was appointed

[7] Mr. Kneeland, it seems, was not able to go back farther than 1793. All the documents he could obtain at that time he entered on the book, and officiated as standing clerk until 1816, when the duty was begun by Mr. Turner, who served until 1824, at which time H. Ballou 2d was appointed.

to promote the object in view with all the means with which they may be furnished.

1815. At Whitingham, Vt. September 19th. Richard Carrique, Moderator; S. C. Loveland, Clerk; Russell Streeter, Assistant Clerk. The correspondence between the committee and Rev. Mr. Rait, a Universalist clergyman in London, was read. Voted, "that it is expedient that the Convention endeavor to raise by subscription, a fund of $5000, to be divided into two hundred shares of twenty-five dollars each, the interest only of which shall be applied to the support of the institution, [patronized in the vote of last year] and that a committee be appointed to obtain the subscription of said shares."

1816. At Rockingham, Vt. September 17th. Caleb Rich, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; Edward Turner, Assistant Clerk. A committee, consisting of E. Turner, H. Ballou and T. Jones, was appointed to prepare a history of Universalism.

1817. At Charlton, Mass. September 16th. Edward Turner, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; Robert Bartlett, Assistant Clerk. The committee appointed to prepare the history of Universalism, reported no success, and a committee consisting of H. Ballou, E. Turner and P. Dean, were appointed to attend to the subject, and report at the next session. Renewed efforts made to raise the $5000 for the seminary, and a new committee appointed to further that object.

1818. At Chesterfield, N. H. September 15th. Paul Dean, Moderator; Hosea Ballou, Clerk; S. C.

Loveland, Assistant Clerk. The committee appointed to compile the History, reported that nothing had been effected. H. Ballou, E. Turner and Jacob Wood were entrusted with the duty of compiling said work. Another committee was appointed in relation to the seminary of science, to endeavor to carry the object into effect.

1819. At Lebanon, N. H, 14th September. Edward Turner, Moderator; Jacob Wood, Clerk; Russell Streeter, Assistant Clerk. The committee on the subject of a seminary reported that they had succeeded in establishing one at Dudley, Mass. when the Convention voted to take it under their patronage.

The minutes of the Convention and of several of the Associations, from this time, have been published in the Universalist journals; and this renders it unnecessary that we make any more selections. We will, however, trace the *meetings* of the Convention to the present time.

1820. At Claremont, N. H. Hosea Ballou, Moderator; Richard Carrique, Clerk; Robert Bartlett, Assistant Clerk.

1821. At Hudson, N. Y. Solomon Glover, Moderator; Richard Carrique and S. R. Smith, Clerks.

1822. At Warner, N. H. Hosea Ballou, Moderator; S. C. Loveland and H. Ballou 2d, Clerks.

1823. At Clinton, N. Y. A. Kneeland, Moderator; R. Carrique and N. Stacy, Clerks.

1824. At Strafford, Vt. Edward Turner, Moderator; H. Ballou, and S. Streeter, Clerks.

1825. At Hartland, Vt. Paul Dean, Moderator; Russell Streeter and Dolphus Skinner, Clerks.

1826. At Wells, Vt. H. Ballou 2d, Moderator; L. Willis and W. Skinner, Clerks.

1827. At Saratoga Springs, N. Y. H. Ballou, Moderator; T. F. King and P. Dean, Clerks.

1828. At Cavendish, Vt. H. Ballou, Moderator; T. Whittemore and C. Hudson, Clerks.

1829. At Winchester, N. H. S. Streeter, Moderator; S. Cobb and T. G. Farnsworth, Clerks. The Convention adjourned from Winchester to meet at Lebanon, N. H. in September, 1830. That will be the *forty-fourth* year from its first meeting.

IV. Having thus finished the history of the General Convention, we must now go back and bring into view some of the principal authors of works on the Universalian controversy, which appeared in the period embraced in this chapter.

Dr. Joseph Young, late of the city of New-York, deceased, was the author of a small volume, entitled "Calvinism and Universalism contrasted; in a series of letters to a friend"—and also of a volume entitled, "The Restoration of all mankind, proved by scripture, reason and common sense." He also wrote and published a Treatise on Astronomy, in which the Physical system of Sir Isaac Newton is examined and (presumed to be) refuted. To which is annexed a Physiological Treatise, in which the first stage of animation is considered, and shewing how circulation is performed in the first rudiments of the incipient animal, before the vessels are

completely organized, &c. The Doctor's parents were Irish. They came to this country in company with the parents of the late Vice-President George Clinton, deceased. Both families settled in the town of *Little Britain*, in Orange County, in the State of New-York. Though related by some consanguinity, they were more intimately associated and strongly connected by those ties of friendship which afterwards united their children, and yet subsists among their children's children. The Doctor was born in the above mentioned town on the 7th day of February, 1733. He acquired his professional education under the tuition of his elder brother Doct. Thomas Young, who died in Philadelphia in the year 1777, and of whom Doctor Rush speaks in one of his books on yellow fever. Both the brothers were men of talents and eminence in their profession. At the commencement of the American revolutionary war, Dr. Joseph Young resided in the city of Albany, at which place the General Hospital of the continental army was established; in which department the Doctor served as chief prescribing physician from its first establishment to its final dissolution. He prescribed for the first patient brought into that hospital, and also for the last but one at the close of the war. He afterwards removed to the city of New-York, where he continued his professional pursuits and acquired an extensive practice, till the year 1796, when he retired from business; or perhaps more properly speaking, when he ceased to receive compensation

for his professional services. He was blessed with a vigorous, independent and enterprising mind; his professional talents were of the first order; his acquirements extensive; his integrity unsuspected; his veracity undoubted; his honor without spot; his moral character blameless; in short, as far as fame spread his reputation, he was esteemed and respected as an intelligent, a benevolent, a virtuous and good man. He died without disease and without pain, on the 18th day of April, 1814, at the age of 82 years, and was interred in the family sepulchre of Mr. John Hurttell, at Christ's Church in Ann-street, in the city of New York.

In the year 1793, Dr. Young's first work appeared, entitled "Calvinism and Universalism Contrasted." Its main object is to substantiate the latter doctrine, and thereby vindicate the ways of God to man. The author has proved himself to be no cold theorist, by the warmth with which he engaged in his design, and which illustrates, more forcibly than any thing we can say, the influence which his sentiments exerted over his heart.

Dr. William Pitt Smith, late of the city of New-York, deceased, was the author of a book advocating the doctrine of Universal Salvation. He was the son of Peartree Smith, Esq. and brother of Mrs. (Elias) Boudinot, of the state of New Jersey. He was a student of physic under Dr. Joseph Young, and was attached to the General Hospital Department of the army of the United States during the revolutionary war, in which he served as

surgeon's mate under his preceptor Dr. Young. He afterwards participated as a partner of Dr. Young, in an extensive medical practice in the city of New York. His professional talents; his literary acquirements; his character for honor, honesty and philanthropy, were so extensively known, acknowledged and approved, that he became very popular, and gained a political influence which he was ambitious to use for the benevolent purpose of ameliorating the condition of the human species. He was elected a member of the Legislature for the year 1796, and was a strenuous advocate of the bill providing for the abolition of slavery. His unremitting zeal and untiring exertions for the attainment of that philanthropic object, were regarded as prominent among the causes which produced his death. Anxious to fulfil all the duties which had devolved on him, on the morning of the day on which the bill above mentioned was to be discussed in the Assembly, which was sitting in the city of New-York, he rose very early with a view to visit all his patients, in time to enable him to take an active part in the debate on that important and interesting question. He spared himself no time to breakfast or dine. The day was wet, cold and stormy. Drenched to the skin he took his seat in the house, and sat all day in his wet clothes, was taken sick even before he concluded his speech, and after a few days severe indisposition, died in February, 1796, at the age of 36 years. It may

be superfluous to add that his loss was much felt and greatly regretted.

Dr. Smith's work on the salvation of all men, was entitled "The Universalist"; and its sole design was to establish that doctrine. It was a duodecimo of 300 pages, was written in the form of letters to 'Amyntor,' and appeared in 1787. The author opposed the infinity of sin; insisted that eternal punishment is an impeachment of the divine character; that the doctrine of the Universalists does not remove any real motives to virtue, but presents such as are capable of exerting a powerful influence upon the human mind. The objections founded upon the words *eternal*, *everlasting*, *&c.* were answered in the usual way. In the conclusion he made copious extracts from Ramsay, Chauncy and Winchester, the only authors on Universalism whom he had read, and closed with some strictures on a work of Mr. Eckley of Boston against that doctrine.

V. Joseph Huntington, D.D. minister of a Church in Coventry, Con. was the author of a book entitled, "*Calvinism Improved; or the Gospel illustrated as a system of real grace, issuing in the salvation of all men.*" He was a man of high standing, was educated at Yale College, where he graduated in 1762; and he remained pastor of the church in Coventry until his decease in 1795. The work before us was written in the prime of the author's life, but was not published until after his death. His mind was first led to the subject by the absurdity and incomplete-

ness of the Calvinistic hypothesis, which, in his opinion, as generally understood, left man without hope, and God without glory. It was not by giving up the peculiarities of his former views that he became a Universalist, but by grafting upon them the hypothesis of Universal Salvation, and by carrying through the system of Calvin in regard to all mankind, as it had been generally done in reference to the elect alone; and from this attempt he derived the title of his work, "Calvinism *improved*." The doctrine of the ultimate happiness of all men was not defended incidentally, but it was the main object of the work, to which all its arguments and conclusions were designed to lead. Huntington's system differed very little if any from Relly's. He held to the sinner's absolute depravity by nature; the justice of the sentence of endless misery, which he saw plainly threatened in Scripture; the doctrine of the atonement, whereby Christ suffered for us the penalty of the divine law, our guilt having been set to his account, as our federal head and sponsor, and his obedience in like manner transferred to us; and thus our author proclaimed a salvation for man solely on the ground of free grace and mercy. Connecticut furnished yet another Universalist author, Mr. Park Woodard, of Lyme. He published a series of dialogues between two fictitious characters, "Calvin" and "Christian," in a duodecimo volume of 279 pages. He was a Rellyan, and discussed the principal points of his faith.

Dr. Huntington's performance had not been long before the public, when it was attacked by the Rev. Nathan Strong, of Hartford, Conn. in a work entitled "*The doctrine of Eternal Misery reconcileable with the benevolence of God*, and a truth plainly asserted in the christian Scriptures." Mr. Strong had been bred in Coventry, where his father was once the settled clergyman. The ground taken in opposition to Dr. H. was, that benevolence in God was not a love of individual happiness, but of the happiness of society, or the greatest quantity of good; and that the endless misery of a part of mankind was consistent with benevolence, inasmnch as it was the means of promoting the general good. But we are unable to see for what reason Mr. Strong's book should ever have been called an *answer*, much less a *refutation*, of Dr. H's theory. The latter, so far from denying, had maintained that endless punishment was a doctrine of the Scriptures; he had found fault with Universalists in general for *trifling* with the original word translated forever; and in reference to the question, 'does the bible plainly say that sinners of mankind shall be damned to interminable punishment?' he answered, 'it certainly does, as plainly as language can express, or any man, or even God himself can speak.' Nor did he deny that endless misery was consistent with divine justice. On this subject he was perfectly plain. "The endless duration of punishment," said he, "appears obviously just, no more than we deserve, and not in the least cruel for God to in-

flict. To argue as some do, that it is not *just* for God to punish eternally, for transient sins in this world, is the perfection of absurdity, and arises from a total ignorance of God and ourselves, in the true character and relation of each." Why a work designed to refute such a theory should bear the title Mr. Strong gave to his book, we cannot imagine.

This laid before the public unanswered until the year 1803, when there appeared, "A Critical and Candid Examination of a late publication, entitled the doctrine of eternal misery reconcileable with the infinite benevolence of God," &c. by Dan Foster, A. M. He was pastor of the congregational church in Charlestown, N. H. a man of fine ability, and of a tender affectionate heart. Universal love was the element of his soul. His work was divided into four parts. He, in the first place, shows the absurdity of Mr. Strong's definitions of divine benevolence. This part of his subject evinces considerable sagacity, in detecting the glossed contradictions of his brother Strong. In the second part, Mr. Foster labors, with earnestness, to sustain the doctrine of universal happiness. The theme was congenial to his feelings. He rests the subject altogether on scriptural ground; and brings forward a large collection of texts to its support. He answers objections in the third part, which embraces nearly half the book, an octavo of upwards of three hundred pages; and closes with "a kind and generous address to the clergy and people of the United States." One half his public life was spent

in the propagation of Calvinism. He looked back on this circumstance with pain; and knew no other way to repair the wrong he had done, than by an open, fearless avowal of Universalism. In his work he is always frank and ingenuous. Though not connected with the Universalists as a denomination, he speaks of them respectfully, and maintains the spirit of mildness towards his brethren who believed in endless misery. The perfect artlessness of the style in which the work is written, prepossesses the reader in the author's favor. There is no studied figure, no stiff arrangement, yet throughout good sense abounds, and in some instances, passages that are truly eloquent. In fine, among the American works in defence of Universalism, this holds a high rank.

VI. Mr. Foster was succeeded, in the following year, by his neighbor, and brother in the ministry, Rev. Thomas Fessenden, pastor of the church in Walpole, N. H. who sent forth a treatise of a singular character, entitled "*A Theoretic Explanation of the Science of Sanctity, according to reason, Scripture, common sense, and the analogy of things,*" *&c.* Here we find an anomalous association of good sense and odd whims, strange doctrines, and newly coined phrases. The garden of Eden was less luxuriant than this author's mind seems to have been, in compounding expressions that defy all our efforts to penetrate their meaniug. He devotes a half dozen pages of his work to the doctrine "of the restitution of all things," which we cannot say he defends, but rather writes about, in a mystical man-

ner, and, what is uncommon with mystics, a frigid spirit. He distinctly enough avows his belief, however, and incorporates this sentiment into his system as a constituent part.

VII. By the rapid spread of the sentiments of the Universalists, the zeal of a Rev. clergyman in Templeton, Mass. was called into action; and in 1803, there came out "A candid examination of the moral tendency of the doctrine of Universal Salvation, as taught by its advocates." By Elisha Andrews. He does not attempt to disprove Universalism, except so far as that could be done by pointing out its tendency on the affections and conduct of mankind. Every person will give him credit for originality who learns, that, through his whole book, he endeavors to show that Universalism lessens our love and reverence of God and Christ, weakens our faith in the Saviour, is unfavorable to repentance, and to the exercise of *candor* and *benevolence* toward men.

VIII. Dr. Young's principal work, "*The restoration of all men proved, by Scripture, reason and common sense*," was published in 1804. It is a duodecimo of rising two hundred and fifty pages, but neither for arrangement or argument, has much to recommend it. The author inclined to Rellyanism; but it is doubtful whether he understood that system. One thing he knew, and every body else may know it from reading his work, he abhorred the doctrine of endless punishment, he believed it derogatory to the divine character, and was willing to use his in-

fluence with his fellow-men to convince them of its falsity, and its injurious influence.

IX. The last work of any size which has appeared against Universalism, was written by Josiah Spaulding, A. M. pastor of a church in Buckland, Mass. and bore the following specious title: "*Universalism confounds and destroys itself.*" The author appears to have been a man of some sense; and he availed himself of the discrepancies of the systems of Relly and Huntington on the one hand, and Chauncy, Winchester, Petitpierre and Young on the other, to show not that *Universalism* confounds and destroys itself, but that the various peculiarities in the views of these men, which they had of themselves attached to the simple fact of Universal Salvation, confounded and destroyed one another. Whether Mr. Relly's, or Dr. Huntington's, or Mr. Winchester's Scheme is full of contradictions, is not a question of much importance, as it affects the inquiry whether mankind shall all be saved at last. Who ever thought of alleging the differences among christians on the subject of the divine nature, as proof that there is no God? Mr. Spaulding's work is divided into four parts. First, the system of Relly and Huntington is examined. Second, the views of those who hold to a limited future punishment are passed under review. Third, the sense of the words rendered everlasting, &c. as the author understood them, is given; and the fourth part is filled by the attempt to show, that a general atonement is consistent with a partial salvation, and by an explanation of the second death.

CHAPTER XI.

SKETCHES OF THE RISE OF UNIVERSALISM IN THE SEVERAL STATES, WITH ITS PRESENT CONDITION AND PROSPECTS. CHANGES OF OPINION AMONG UNIVERSALISTS, AND THE VIEWS THEY NOW ENTERTAIN.

PART I.

Universalism in Maine.

I. The father of Universalism in the then District of Maine, was the Rev. Thomas Barnes, of whom we spoke in the commencement of *chapter* viii. After being converted to that faith, he preached some time in Vermont; in 1789 he removed to Oxford, in Mass. where he remained until 1792; thence he took up his residence in Woodstock, Con., preaching in several towns in that vicinity; and in 1799, at the invitation of a few Universalists in Paris and Norway, he settled in Poland, Me. A few societi● were soon formed; and in October of that year, Mr. Barnes invited them to appoint delegates to meet with him in convention at Gray, where the EASTERN ASSOCIATION, now known by the name of the MAINE CONVENTION, was formed. In 1801, Mr. Barnes was greeted by the General onvention, in session at Swanzey, N. H. as "pre-

siding elder of the Eastern Association"; committee was appointed, consisting of Ed Pillsbury, Zephaniah Lathe, and George Rich to confer ordination on him. Accordingly, on uary 6th, 1802, he was ordained over the uni societies of Norway, New Gloucester, Falmou and Gray. Mr. Richards preached from the words "*ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you.*" The first Universalist Meeting-house in Maine, was built in Norway, and was finished in 1804. The annual meetings of the Association continued to be holden; and on some occasions the ministering brethren from neighboring states attended its sessions. The cause of truth moved gradually forward, until about 1821, when an impulse was given to it, which it never since has lost. In the beginning of this year a society was formed in Portland, to whom Rev. Russell Streeter had engaged to minister. Rev. Fayette Mace had been licensed in 1818. At the session of the Association in Winthrop, in 1821, Rev. William Frost and William A. Drew received letters of fellowship, and Fayette Mace and Sylvanus Cobb were ordained. Of the ministerial labors of these men in that state, it is not necessary that we speak. In this year also the "Christian Intelligencer" was commenced in Portland, by Rev. Russell Streeter, who conducted it for several years, when it was removed to Gardner, in the county of Kennebec, where it has since been edited by Rev. William A. Drew.

II. There are, at this day, about *sixty* Universalist societies in the State of Maine, as follows; 1 in *Saco* and *Biddeford*, in *Portland** 1, *Brunswick** and *Topsham* 1, Freeport* 1, Gray 1, Minot 1, New Gloucester 1, Poland* 1, Danville 1, Bethel and vicinity 1, Buckfield 1, Canton 1, Joy 1, Fryeburg 1, *Livermore** 1, *Paris* and *Norway** 1, *Turner** 1, *Bath* 1, Richmond 1, *Bowdoinham** and vicinity 1, Lewiston* 1, Lisbon* 1, *Thomaston** 1, *Union** 1, *Wiscasset* 1, Albion 1, Chesterville 1, *Farmington** 1, Greene* 1, Mount Vernon 1, New Sharon* 1, *Readfield** 1, *Waterville** 1, Wayne* 1, Wilton* 1, Canaan 1, Embden 1, Freeman and Kingfield 1, Norridgewock 1, Anson 1, Palmyra 1, St. Albans 1, Phillips 1, Charlestown, &c. 1, Dover, &c. 1, Dexter* 1, Exeter 1, Eddington 1, *Hampden** 1, Garland 1, Guilford, &c. 1, Levant 1, Newport, &c. 1, Sangerville 1, Frankfort 1, Belfast 1, Camden* 1, Montville* 1, Winthrop 1, Mercer 1, Freedom 1, Parkman 1, New Portland 1, Westbrook 1, Brownfield, Hiram and Denmark 1, and Waldoboro' 1.[3] The average number of adult members in these societies would not, perhaps, be far from fifty. There is, however, scarcely a town in the State in which some Universalists are not known to exist; and there are, it may be, twenty or thirty towns in which there are no legally incorporated societies,

[3] In the towns marked with an asterisk, the Universalists either own Meeting-houses exclusively, or, having the principal control, occupy them in part with other denominations. In other towns their meetings are holden in Court-houses, Town-houses, public halls, &c. The *principal* societies are in the towns which are printed in italics.

where the Universalists support preaching occasionally.

III. There are about thirty Universalist clergymen in this State. George Bates, Livermore; Samuel Brimblecom, Norridgewock; Barnabas Bursley, Sangerville; Oliver L. Currier, New Sharon; W. I. Reese, Portland; William A. Drew, Augusta; Thomas Dolloff, Jay; William Frost, Dexter; Nathan C. Fletcher, Lewiston; Henry Hawkins, Fryeburg; James W. Hoskins, Hampden; Frederick A. Hodsdon, Readfield; Fayette Mace, Strong; Benjamin B. Murray, Norway; Alanson Merrill, New-Gloucester; John P. Pitkin, Union; Amos A. Richards, St. Albans; Seth Stetson, Brunswick; Alanson St. Clair, Sidney; Zenas Thompson, Farmington; Jacob Wood, Saco; Taylor Whittier, Freeman; Daniel Young, Avon; Alvan Dinsmore, Poland; C. C. Smith, Readfield; Moses McFarland, Montville; Charles Leadbetter, Concord.

IV. The "MAINE CONVENTION OF UNIVERSALISTS" is the principal religious body of that order. Until 1828, it was known by the name of the "Eastern Association," when it resolved itself into its present character, and appointed four minor Associations, viz. the "York, Cumberland and Oxford," the "Kennebec," the "Penobscot," and "Washington." The Convention is composed of all the clergy in fellowship, and of *six* lay delegates from each of the Associations. It is said, that reckoning adult males only, this denomination is probably as large as any in the state.

PART II.

Universalism in New-Hampshire.

I. Universalism was introduced into New-Hampshire as early as 1773, by the labors of Mr. Murray. The society at Portsmouth was formed as early as 1781. Noah Parker was their first settled preacher; after him George Richards, and in the fall of 1809, we believe Hosea Ballou removed to that place. By means of the itinerant habits of the Universalist preachers, their sentiments spread early, particularly in the towns bordering on Connecticut river, and on Massachusetts. Richmond, Winchester, Washington, Alstead, Langdon, Chesterfield, Claremont, Weare, Warner, Southampton, Atkinson, deserve particular mention in this respect. In 1808, at the request of the Universalist societies in Hopkinton and Weare, Rev. Sebastian Streeter was ordained at the General Convention in session at Washington, N. H. The Universalists were recognized as a distinct sect, June 13, 1805.

II. We cannot speak with confidence as to the exact number of societies in this State. There are, we believe, between *thirty* and *forty*. In the following towns there will be found societies; or if not regularly constituted societies, considerable bodies of Universalists. *Portsmouth*, Exeter, Southampton, Kingston, *Atkinson* and *Hampstead*, *Pelham*, Nottingham, Raymond, *Merrimack*, Dunstable, Epsom,

Rochester, *Rumney*, Gilmanton, Guilford, *Meredith*, *Eaton*, Piermont, *Lebanon*, Hanover, *Andover*, Enfield, New London, *Sutton*, Warner, Weare, Peterborough, Canaan, Plainfield, Cornish, Croydon, Grantham, Wentworth, Springfield, Unity, *Washington*, *Jaffrey*, Langdon, Claremont, Westmoreland, Chesterfield, *Winchester*, and Raymond.[9] In a few of these towns Universalists are the exclusive owners of Meeting-houses, but in a much greater number they occupy them in common with other denominations. A large majority of these societies have preaching but a part of the time; and clergymen in the neighboring states of Maine, Massachusetts and Vermont, minister to some of them.

III. There are but few Universalist clergymen here. They are John Moore, Lebanon; Joseph P. Atkinson, Meredith; Josiah Gilman, Guilford; David Cooper, Washington; William S. Balch and Thomas J. Sawyer, Winchester; Isaac D. Williamson, Jaffrey; Thomas F. King, Portsmouth.

IV. In this State there are two Universalist Associations. The "New-Hampshire Association" was formed at Westmoreland, N. H. in June, 1824, by Samuel C. Loveland, Robert Bartlett, Dolphus Skinner and Lemuel Willis. It holds its meetings annually. From Westmoreland it adjourned to Hancock, thence to Jaffrey, thence to Washington, thence to Claremont, thence to Sutton, and thence to Merrimack. The "Rockingham Association"

[9] The principal societies are in those towns printed in italics. This remark will apply to all the states hereafter noticed.

was formed at Deerfield, in August, 1824, and took its name from the county of Rockingham. It was designed to benefit the cause of Universalism in the south eastern section of New-Hampshire. From Deerfield it adjourned to Nottingham, thence to Meredith, thence to Eaton, thence to Kingston, thence to Epping, and thence to Atkinson. Present at its first meeting, Hosea Ballou, Sebastian Streeter, Dolphus Skinner, Lemuel Willis, Josiah Gilman, Eliphalet Case, and William Bell.

PART III.

Universalism in Vermont.

I. The first we learn of Universalism in this State, is that the General Convention met in Bennington in 1795. Among the early preachers may be reckoned Joab Young, Caleb Rich, William Farewell, Walter Ferris, James Babbit, and Cornelius Gray Parsons, whose labors were confined to no particular part of the State. Hosea Ballou removed to Barnard from Dana, Mass. in 1803: and, by request, the Convention that year appointed a committee to confer ordination upon him on Tuesday Sept. 27, as pastor of the united societies of Barnard, Bethel Bridgewater, Woodstock and Hartland. He labored in this State for six years; and during that time travelled very extensively in the discharge of ministerial duties. Here he wrote his Treatise on Atonement, a work well known to Amer-

ican Universalists, the first edition of which was published by Sereno Wright, of Randolph, Vt. in 1805. While here too he wrote his 'Notes on the Parables,' which were first published, we believe, in 1806, and afterwards enlarged and republished in Portsmouth, N. H. in 1812. He engaged also in repeated controversies, defending Universalism against the attacks made upon it. The only periodical publication which has appeared here is the "Christian Repository," which was commenced, as a small duodecimo, in July, 1820, by S. C. Loveland. For one or two years it was conducted by Robert Bartlett. It was, at first, published quarterly; but at the end of the ninth volume it went into the hands of William Bell, who enlarged it to a quarto, and issued it weekly at Woodstock.

II. There are now about fifty Universalist Societies in this State, in the towns of *Barnard*, Bethel, Hancock, Rochester, *Shoreham*, *Whiting*, Randolph, *Barre*, Plainfield, Montpelier, Richmond, *Cavendish*, Reading, *Chester*, Weston, Shrewsbury, *Hartland*, Leicester, Bridport, Stockbridge, Pomfret, Putney, *Londonderry*, *Townsend*, Windsor, Wardsboro', Athens, Craftsbury, Morristown, Royalston, Compton, Bolton, Northfield, *Strafford*, *Williamstown*, *Calais*, *St. Johnsbury*, Waterford, Danville, Burke, Pawlet, Clarendon, Wells, Springfield, Rockingham, *New Fane*, *Dover*, Guilford and Windham. The same remarks may be made in reference to these societies, which have already been offered in reference to others. Very few, if any, have preaching

all the time. Some have the exclusive possession of Meeting Houses, others occupy them in company with other denominations. There is no part of the country where Universalists are more devoted to their principles than in this State.

III. The Universalist ministers are, Samuel C. Loveland, Reading; Robert Bartlett, Hartland; John E. Palmer and T. Browning, Barre; Warren Skinner, Cavendish; Samuel Hilliard, Clarendon; William Bell, Woodstock; Kittredge Haven, Shoreham; Joseph Ward, Barnard; Isaiah Boynton jr., Townsend; Micajah Coburn, Chelsea; Ezekiel Vose, St. Johnsbury; Samuel Skinner, Wilmington; Joseph Bradley, Williston; Elijah Smith and Daniel Wellman, Burke.

IV. There are *three* Universalist Associations. The "Northern Association" took its rise in the year 1804. Several applications having been made to the General Convention to sanction the holding of religious Associations, they in 1803, appointed an Association to be holden in Jericho, on the second Wednesday in June, 1804; and chose Zebulon Streeter, Hosea Ballou and Joab Young, a committee to visit it in the name of the Convention, give advice, &c. In the minutes of the Convention for 1804, it is styled the "Northern Association"; and the same three brethren were appointed to attend its second session at Croydon, N. H. on the first Wednesday and Thursday in October of that year. The "Franklin Association" was formed in Bernardston, Mass. in October, 1822. This belongs

only in part to Vermont, as the limits assigned to it are the counties of Franklin, in Mass. Windham, in Vt. and Cheshire in N. H. It meets annually in October. The "Green Mountain Association," was formed in August, 1829, and is confined to the counties of Windsor and Rutland The Universalist societies in Lower Canada may send delegates to the Northern Association, which perhaps, at some future time, may extend its meetings into that province.

PART IV.

Universalism in Massachusetts.

I. Of the introduction of Universalism into this State, we have already spoken. In the year 1793, Mr. Murray removed from Gloucester to Boston, and in October of that year was installed as pastor of the society there. The "Second Universalist Society in Boston," was incorporated, December 13th, 1816. The dedication took place on October 16th of the following year, and Mr. Ballou was installed, December 15th. The third Universalist Meeting House was dedicated, and Mr. Dean installed over said society on May 7, 1823. An event of considerable importance in the history of Universalism in this State, was the conversion of Rev. Walter Balfour, of Charlestown. This gentleman is well known as the author of an Inquiry into the scriptural meaning of the words rendered *hell* in the

Scriptures, and of other very valuable works, which have acquired for their author a great reputation among the American Universalists, as a sincere 'Inquirer after Truth.'

The first publication in the State devoted to this doctrine, was the 'Berean,' commenced in Boston in 1802, by a society of gentlemen, and published occasionally in numbers of 48 duodecimo pages, till 1810, when the eighth and last number was issued. In 1811, the 'Gospel Visitant' was begun by an association of clergymen, and was published quarterly, in 64 octavo pages, at Salem, Mass. for one year, when it was discontinued for want of support. It was revived in 1817, by E. Turner and H. Ballou, and continued a year and a half, and then ceased. The 'Herald of Life and Immortality,' by Elias Smith, was commenced in Boston, January, 1819, and published quarterly, in numbers of 36 duodecimo pages, till the end of the second year, when the editor was induced, by his numerous avocations, to give it up. The 'Universalist Magazine,' the first weekly Universalist publication that ever appeared in the United States, was commenced in Boston, July 3, 1819, with flattering prospects of success. It was edited for two years by Hosea Ballou. In the course of the third, Hosea Ballou 2d and Thomas Whittemore were associated with its original editor. It was at first a quarto of four pages; but in July 1828, it was enlarged to a royal size, and has since received an unprecedented patronage. In the year 1823, a

work was begun by E. Turner, then of Charlestown, entitled the 'Evangelical Repertory,' a few numbers of which only were published; and early in the year 1828, the 'Spirit of the Pilgrims,' a semi-monthly journal, was begun at Plymouth, by an association of gentlemen, which was continued for one year.

II. In Massachusetts there are between *seventy* and *eighty* Universalist societies, which may be found in the following towns: *Brewster*, *Chatham*, Barnstable, Rochester, Wareham, Carver, *Plymouth*, Plympton, *Duxbury*, *Halifax*, Bridgewater, *Hanson*, *Hingham*, *Scituate*, Taunton, *Attleboro'*, Bellingham, Wrentham, *Medway*, *Dedham*, Canton, *Roxbury*, *Boston* 3, Methuen, *Haverhill*, Amesbury, New Rowley, Essex, Hamilton, *Gloucester*[o] 3, *Salem*, Dorchester, Townsend, Dunstable, *Shirley*, Chelmsford, South Reading, Stoneham, *Malden*, *Charlestown*, *Cambridge* 2, West Cambridge, *Watertown*, *Woburn*, *Lowell*, Acton, *Marlborough*, Framingham, Athol, *Westminster*, Harvard, Dana, Hardwick, Boylston, West Boylston, *Brookfield*, *Western*, *Shrewsbury*, Upton, *Milford*, *Oxford*, *Charlton*, *Bernardston*, South Wilbraham, Springfield, Egremont, Munroe, *Nan-*

o As this is the last time we shall mention the society in Gloucester, we take the opportunity to remark, that in Sept. 1804, Rev. Thomas Jones became their pastor. Mr. Jones was formerly a preacher in the Countess of Huntington's connexion. In the year 1788, he became a Universalist, and preached this doctrine for some time in Reading, Berkshire. In 1796, he removed to America; and ministered for a season to the Universalist congregation in Philadelphia. On removing to New England he soon took up his residence in Gloucester, where he lives at this day beloved and respected.

tucket. There are nearly *forty* Meeting Houses in this State, owned exclusively by Universalists, and several used by them in common with other denominations.

III. The Universalist clergymen in this State are, Hosea Ballou, Paul Dean, Sebastian Streeter, John F. Myers, Thomas J. Whitcomb, Boston; Linus S. Everett, Walter Balfour, Charlestown; Hosea Ballou 2d, Matthew Smith, Roxbury; Lemuel Willis, George Bradburn, Salem; Thomas Jones, Ezra Leonard, Gloucester; Thomas G. Farnsworth, Haverhill; Otis A. Skinner, Woburn; Eliphalet Case jr., Lowell; Russell Streeter, Shirley; Charles Hudson, Westminster; Thomas Whittemore, Cambridgeport; Adin Ballou, Milford; Seth Chandler, Holliston; William Morse, Nantucket; Lyman Maynard, Oxford; Massena B. Ballou, Charlton; Lucius R. Paige, Brookfield; John Brooks, Bernardston, David Ballou, Monroe; Sylvanus Cobb, Malden; Thomas J. Greenwood, and A. V. Basset, Lowell; Nathaniel Wright, Attleboro'; Robert L. Killam, Scituate; Elmor Hewitt, Hanson; Calvin Gardner, Duxbury; Allen Fuller, Middleboro'; James H. Bugbee, Plymouth; Charles Spear, and John M. Spear, Brewster.

IV. There are three Universalist Associations in this State. The "Southern Association" received the fellowship of the General Convention in 1816. Its meetings at first were semi-annual, and were holden in the neighborhood of Boston. Afterward it voted to hold them once in a year, and,

of late, it has met toward the western part of the State, and in Connecticut. The "Old Colony Association" was formed in Sept. 1827, and the limits which it prescribes to itself are known by its name. The "Boston Association" was organized June 4th, 1829. It embraces the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex, and proposes to hold its sessions twice in a year.

PART V.

Universalism in Rhode Island.

1. Universalism was introduced into this State, as has been shown, by the labors of Mr. Murray. In Providence, after a long period of dulness, and almost death, it revived about the years 1820 and 21, by means of the labors of Richard Carrique, then residing in Attleboro', Mass. Fayette Mace labored with the society several months, and, in 1822, they reared an elegant house for public worship, which was dedicated on the 20th Nov. of that year. In the following June, David Pickering, their present pastor, was installed over them. The society at Providence is by far the largest in that State. In May, 1825, their first chapel was destroyed by fire. With a commendable liberality they immediately erected another, which was dedicated in December of the same year, and which is one of the principal public buildings in that populous town. The society next in note is that at the village of Pawtucket,

who have a handsome chapel, and over whom Jacob Frieze is settled. The society in Cumberland occupy the Meeting House on Cumberland Hill, and enjoy the labors of Stephen Cutler. Barton Ballou, a licensed preacher, resides here. There are bodies of Universalists in different parts of the State, but whether formed into societies, we are unable to say. There is a regularly organized society at Wonsoket Falls. The 'Christian Telescope,' a Universalist journal, was conducted several years at Providence, by Mr. Pickering, which was finally discontinued about the commencement of the year 1829. The 'Gospel Preacher,' a monthly publication of sermons by Universalist ministers, was also issued in the same place. It was not generally supported by the Universalist clergy. The "Providence Association" was organized in January, 1828.

PART VI.

Universalism in Connecticut.

I. Universalism was introduced into this State by Mr. Murray. While residing in New-York, he received repeated invitations to visit different towns in Connecticut; and accordingly, on his journies eastward, he preached in Milford, Guilford, New London, Preston and Norwich. In the latter place, it is well known, the Episcopal clergyman embraced Mr. Murray's sentiments. In the year

1796, Mr. Winchester appeared in Hartford; and by the primitive simplicity of his manners, and power of his eloquence, he won many friends. Regular meetings were holden in the theatre on Sundays, and in one of the Meeting Houses on Wednesday evenings; and on the approach of winter, a large chamber was fitted up, sufficient to accommodate about four hundred, which Mr. Winchester occupied until his death in April, 1797. The friends to Universalism in this city remained for many years without a stated preacher. They were occasionally favored with a dispensation of the word, until the year 1821, when Richard Carrique removed to that place, and commenced regular meetings in the State House. He was the first editor of the 'Religious Inquirer,' which began the latter part of that year. Preparations were soon made for building a Meeting House, and on August 18th, 1824, the large and elegant building was dedicated, and John Bisbe jr. installed as pastor of the society. Mr. Bisbe's ministry in this place continued for two or three years, when Rev. Menzies Rayner, of the Episcopal church, having publicly espoused Universalism, was invited to the pastoral care of the society in Hartford, an office into which he entered in the latter part of the year 1827. Shortly after he became the editor of the 'Religious Inquirer.' These offices he has filled with high honor to himself, and advantage to the cause of Universalism; and at the present time, this doc-

trine is spreading in Connecticut with unusual rapidity.

II. In this State there are *ten* or *twelve* Universalist societies, viz. in *Hartford*, *Stafford*, *Norwich*, Danbury, Norwalk, Berlin, Southington, Enfield, Woodstock, and Colchester. There are a number of other towns, in which there are considerable bodies of Universalists, and in which Universalism has occasionally been preached, as Windsor, East Windsor, Ellington, Granby, Manchester, Glastenbury, New London, Middletown, Wallingford, Monroe, *Newtown*, Woodbridge, New Hartford, Winchester, Winsted, Somers, East Hartford and *Windham*. In Hartford, Stafford and Norwich, there are Meeting Houses owned exclusively by Universalists, and in Windsor, Wallingford, Southington, Middletown, and perhaps some others, there are houses *partly* owned by them.

III. There are but few Universalist clergymen here. Menzies Rayner, Hartford; Jasiel P. Fuller, Stafford; Nehemiah Dodge, New London; Solomon Glover, Newtown; and Nathaniel Chapin, Enfield. The "Southern Association" has held several of its meetings in this State.

PART VII.

Universalism in New-York.

I. The rise of Universalism in the city of New-York was coeval with the arrival of Mr. Murray; introduction into the northern and western

parts of the State, did not take place until some time afterward, and is to be attributed to the labors of other men. As early as 1802, Edwin Ferris, a preacher in the fellowship of the General Convention, visited the county of Ostego, and publicly proclaimed the doctrine of Universalism. In 1803, he removed, with his family, to the town of Butternuts, in said county, where, in the autumn of that year, a society was formed, consisting of 25 male members. The next year, Miles T. Wooley, another preacher in fellowship with the General Convention, established himself in Hartwick, Ostego county, where, in March, 1805, a society was formed. Nathaniel Stacy, of Massachusetts, a member of the Convention, visited the counties of Oneida and Chenango, in June, 1805, and itinerated, preaching the doctrine of Universal Grace. In the following year he settled in Brookfield, then Chenango county, and divided his labors among the societies of Brookfield, Whitestown, Hamilton and Hartwick. In the month of July, 1805, a *general* conference, so called, was held in Burlington, Ostego county, "for the purpose of taking into consideration the propriety of organizing an association." *Three* preachers were present, viz. Messrs. Ferris, Wooley and Stacy, who were all the Universalist preachers then in New-York. It was resolved to form an Association, and to petition the "Convention" to appoint a council, who should assist in its organization. Accordingly, on the records of that body for 1805, we find the following vote. "Pur-

suant to a request from brethren in the counties of Otsego, Chenango and Oneida, in the State of New York, to be considered as an Association in fellowship with the General Convention, voted to grant said request; ordered brother H. Ballou to communicate the fellowship of the Convention to said 'Western Association' by an epistle." It is recorded, also, that "William Farewell, Hosea Ballou, Joshua Flagg and Paul Dean, be a committee to attend the Western Association to be holden at Otsego, N. Y. on the first Wednesday and Thursday in June, 1806, and make return at the next General Session." The records of the Convention for the next year being lost, we know not what returns were made. This was the origin of the Western Association, which now recognizes in its original limits, eight sister Associations.

The State of New-York has, of late, abounded in Universalist publications. The 'Gospel Herald,' in the city of New-York, was begun in the early part of 1820, and having, through many vicissitudes, continued to the present time, it is now in the hands of Theophilus Fisk and A. C. Thomas, and has a large list of subscribers. The 'Universalist Preacher,' a monthly series of sermons, some of which are original in that work, is published by the latter gentleman. Besides these, the 'Messenger of Peace' was published for a short time about 1824, in Hudson, N. Y. by R. Carrique. The 'Evangelical Restorationist' at Troy, by B. Streeter and Dolphus Skinner, commenced in May, 1825, and

continued for several months. The 'Gospel Inquirer,' at Little Falls, by G. B. Lisher. The 'Rochester Magazine,' at Rochester, by J. S. Thompson. The 'Herald of Salvation,' at Watertown, by Pitt Morse. 'The Universalist,' formed by the union of the last named three, by the three editors associated with S. R. Smith, one or two volumes of which were published. The 'Utica Magazine,' at Utica, by D. Skinner. The 'Gospel Advocate,' which after several changes of editors and location, has passed into the hands of Mr. Skinner, and is to be united with the 'Utica Magazine.' The 'Evangelical Repository,' at Troy, N. Y. by Lemuel Willis, which was, at its close, united with the 'Utica Magazine.' The 'Day Star,' by J. Wallace, at Potsdam, which after a brief existence, was united with the same paper. And the 'Dialogical Instructor,' published several months, in the city of New-York, by Adin Ballou. At the present time, the 'Gospel Herald,' in the city of New-York, and the 'Utica Magazine,' are the only Universalist journals in the State.

II. Of the societies in this vast territory, it is out of our power to give an exact account. The Western Association has given fellowship to nearly *sixty* societies. There are probably *one hundred and fifty* Universalist societies in the State of New-York. The principal ones are in Madison, Hamilton, Salisbury, Otsego, Sullivan, Whitestown, Utica, Grand and Duane-street societies in the city of New-York, Hudson, Troy, Albany, Saratoga, Watertown, Au-

burn, Ithaca, Pittsford, German Flatts, Cedarville, North Bloomfield and New Hartford. There are Meeting Houses owned exclusively by Universalists in the city of New-York, Hudson, Albany, Troy, Saratoga, New Hartford, Clinton, Madison, Watertown, Utica, Lee, Parma, North Bloomfield, Sullivan, Otsego, and perhaps in other places. There are Meeting Houses owned and occupied in part by Universalists in many towns. In others the societies hold their meetings in halls, academies, court-houses, school-houses, and sometimes, though rarely, the preacher addresses his congregation beneath the broad canopy of the heavens.

III. The number of preachers is by no means as large as the number of societies, that of the latter being about *four* to *one* of the former. The names and residence of preachers, so far as our knowledge extends, is as follows: C. Todd, L. C. Todd, Ellery; A. Peck, Fredonia; C. Morton, Barre; I. Whitnal, Ogden; J. S. Flagler, York; Hollis Sampson, Parma; L. Knapp, Henrietta; O. Ackley, Hopewell; S. Miles, Lee; A. Green, Virgil; J. Foster, Onondaga; S. Adams, Smithville; A. Scheele, Oxford; J. B. Shannon, New Berlin; A. Finch, Columbus; J. Sherburne, Sherburne; E. Ferris, Unadilla; N. Stacy, Hamilton; J. Potter, Otsego; W. Bullard, Augusta; S. Jones, Augusta; W. Underwood, Litchfield; J. B. Wakeman, Herkimer; Luke Babcock, Pharsalia; E. W. Robbins, Antwerp; C. G. Parsons, Richland; Pitt Morse, Watertown; T. Gross; J. Wallace, Potsdam; Benjamin Hichox;

F. Langworthy; G. Messinger, Salisbury; D. Skinner, Utica; S. R. Smith, Clinton; B. Whittemore, Troy; J. Flagg, Hudson; and Messrs. Mitchell, Bates, Fisk, Whiston, Wellington and Hutchinson, in the city. This list, we are conscious, must be imperfect. Some perhaps have been overlooked; and those who have lately received fellowship are not known. A few may have changed their residence since this list was made out. The preachers out of the cities travel more or less, and preach from three to six times per week. It is doubtless owing to such exertions, that in twenty-five years, the doctrine of Universalism has made such progress.

IV. There are *nine* Universalist Associations in the State of New York, eight of which have been organized since 1814. These are the "Central," "Chatauque," "Genesee," "Chenango," "Black River," "Cayuga," "Conventional," "St. Lawrence," and "Hudson River." The oldest of these is the "Central," formerly known by the name of the "Western Association," whose origin we have related. The Genesee Association was organized in 1814, as a branch of the former. It is believed that the Cayuga was organized in 1823, as the Black River and Chenango were in 1824. The others have been formed since.

In June, 1825, at the annual session of the Western Association, the constitution of a *Convention* was adopted, and delegates duly appointed to attend its first session in May of the next year. The

Constitution was approved, and delegates chosen by the Black River and Hudson Associations. This Convention was denominated, "*The Universalist Convention of the State of New-York.*" By the constitution of this body, the delegates, of which there were two from each Association, were *exclusively ministers.* The circumstance that it admitted no lay delegates, was productive of contention. After three sessions, the Associations gave it a new constitution, by which it admits of four delegates from each Association, *two* of whom are *laymen.* Notwithstanding this alteration, several Associations neither appoint delegates, nor acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Convention; and whether they ever will, time alone can determine.

PART VIII.

Universalism in New-Jersey.

I. The doctrine was early preached in different parts of this State by Mr. Murray; but no societies were formed, that we are aware of. Of late, however, this sentiment has been introduced into several places, with a favorable prospect of its permanent establishment. In the beginning of the year 1828, a Universalist church was dedicated in Middleville, about five miles from Newark. Nov. 9th, 1828, a commodious hall was opened, by religious services, for the use of the Universalist society in New Brunswick. Besides these places, Newark,

Trenton, Princeton, Salem, &c. have heard the joyful tidings of Universal grace. The clergymen from New-York have generally officiated on these occasions. This State is within the bounds of the New-York and Philadelphia Association, which convened at New Brunswick on the third Wednesday and Thursday in December, 1829. We believe William A. Hagadorn, a Universalist preacher, resides somewhere in this State.

PART IX.

Universalism in Pennsylvania.

I. Of the labors of Messrs. Murray and Winchester in this State, we have already given full accounts.[1] In 1790, the doctrine had made considerable progress in Philadelphia, and a Convention was

The following anecdote concerning Dr. Franklin may be appropriately introduced in this place. I extract it from a London work, called 'The Mirror,' vol. ix. p. 208. It originally appeared in the 'New Monthly Magazine.'

"Howard brings to my recollection another celebrated philanthropist and friend of universal man, whose name will exist with his own, Dr. Franklin. I once met with an individual who had known the philosopher, and who had lately visited the Dr's daughter in America, Mrs. Black. This lady had a numerous family and resided in the house of her father, an interesting residence when the mind that occupied it is considered. The building was in Market-street, (Philadelphia) and though close to a public Market, cut off from all noise and bustle. It was lofty and commodious, well, but not superfluously furnished. The library was very large; and in it hung, among others, a picture of the Bishop of St. Asaph and his family. There were the pictures, writing desk and books of the great deceased, just as he left them. Mrs. B. spoke with strong filial feeling of the Dr's tedious illness, his self-possession under the most excruciating agonies, and the serenity amidst all that constantly dwelt upon his features, sometimes

holden, at which Mr. Murray presided. This Convention presented an address to President Washington, who was pleased to make an immediate and very flattering reply. Moses Winchester served the society for a short time; but a cancer put an end to his life Feb. 17, 1793. In July of that year, the Universalist society purchased a lot of land in Lombard-street, and proceeded to erect a church thereon. Three years afterwards the Rev. Thomas Jones arrived in the city from England, and was ordained by the Moderator. Noah Murray commenced preaching here in 1807, but his labors were soon discontinued. On the arrival of Rev. George Richards, in 1809, the affairs of the society revived for a season. He was a man of talents, but of too deep a sensibility for a preacher of a persecuted doctrine. With a warm and ever active imagination, he was capable of the highest excitement, or the deepest depression of feeling. The prophecies of Isaiah and the visions of the Apocalypse, were the subjects on which he delighted to dwell. In

changing into a smile. Two days before his death he observed to her, "My dear, I do not recollect that in the course of thy whole life I was ever for a single moment angry with thee." The entire tenor of his conduct during his last illness, was the same. Every thing was right, all that was done for him was done as it should be; nothing ruffled the composure of his mind; and thus he expired. From many circumstances it may be concluded, that Franklin was inclined to Deism in his religious opinions; but he never obtruded them on any. It is just to observe, however, that he remarked on the doctrine of the Universalists, according to his daughter, (and his family were among the favorers of that sect) that, in his opinion, no system in the christian world was so well calculated to promote the interest of society, as the doctrine which showed 'a God reconciling a lapsed world to himself.'"

some trifling difficulty which occurred in the society, he espoused one side with great ardor; a brief division succeeded among the members; but a more fatal alienation soon became visible in the mind of the preacher. The death of his companion doubly augmented his load of affliction, under which he struggled, until it became necessary to remove him to the Pennsylvania Hospital. Sacred be the scene which followed. His remains lie in the burying ground of the society to which he had ministered, without a stone to designate his grave. The Meeting House was closed until 1816, when Mr. Ebenezer Lestar officiated for one year. Mr. Banger and Mr. Gilson served the society; but in 1818, Mr. A. Kneeland removed to that city, where he remained several years. The society prospered under his labors. A second society was formed, and a new and elegant house erected in the Northern Liberties. Brothers William and Pitt Morse, S. R. Smith, T. Fisk, Z. Fuller and A. C. Thomas, have since ministered in that city.

Besides these societies, there were formerly a few individuals who held a meeting in Carpenter's Hall, to whom Mr. Thomas Dobson ministered. He was a man of most exemplary character, and published, in 1800, a small volume entitled "Letters on the Deity," &c. in which he defended the doctrine of ultimate universal happiness. He died in March, 1823, aged 73. He was not known in connexion with Universalists. There is, at this day, a regular congregation of Winchesterian Uni-

versalists, who have a Meeting House of considerable size in the Northern Liberties. They have never joined the Universalists as a denomination. Their pastor is a Mr. Keyzer, a respectable merchant.

Soon after Mr. Kneeland's removal to Philadelphia, he commenced the publication of the 'Christian Messenger,' which came out weekly in four quarto pages. At the end of the second volume it was changed to the 'Philadelphia Universalist Magazine,' which was continued two years. He published, also, an edition of Griesbach's New Testament, with an English version in parallel columns. The "Improved Version" is closely followed, except in a few attempts at emendation, of which we can say little in praise. Messrs. Smith and Morse, during their residence in this city, published a series of numbers, entitled the 'Herald of Salvation.'

II. There are three or four Universalist societies in the neighborhood of Susquehannah county, Penn. Charles R. Marsh was settled here, and by his labors in the ministry, did much to promote the spread of Universalism. He received a letter of fellowship from the Northern Association of Universalists, in session at Barre, Vt. October, 1822. In the early part of the year 1825, he commenced, at Montrose, the publication of a semi-monthly work of eight octavo pages, entitled the 'Candid Examiner,' which was continued for two years. This amiable young man fell a sacrifice to his zeal in the cause of truth. By exposure and too great

exertion he induced a pulmonary affection, which closed his useful life on March 11th, 1828. The people whom he had served, mourned for him with the sincerest sorrow. During his labors in this vicinity, several societies were formed, and a Meeting House, the exclusive property of Universalists, was erected in the township of Brooklyn, where the Chenango (N. Y.) Universalist Association held a session in August, 1827. Shortly after, a work in defence of Universalism, containing about two hundred pages, 12mo. and entitled the 'Plain Restitutionist,' was published at Montrose. The author was the Rev. Edwin Ferris, of Chenango county, N. Y.

III. Lancaster county deserves particular notice in the history of Universalism in Pennsylvania. In the borough of Marietta there were a few Universalists of wealth and influence, who, in the year 1827, invited Mr. Smith, the pastor of the Callowhill-street society in Philadelphia, to visit them. Subsequently, Mr. Fisk, then preaching in that city, went out into the same region, and gave several discourses. Their labors were crowned with great success. Mr. Jacob Meyers, a highly respected preacher among the German Baptists, embraced Universalism, and soon began, with great zeal, to preach it. Two or three young men, of unusual ability, arose simultaneously to defend the doctrine. In August, 1828, G. Grosh and J. Meyers, issued proposals for publishing a Universalist journal in the German language, in hopes it would be

useful in spreading a knowledge of the universal love of God, among the multitudes of Germans, in the middle States. The first number was issued in the month of May following. It is published monthly, in a pamphlet of sixteen octavo pages, and is entitled 'DER FROHLICHE BOTSCHAFTER,' or the Messenger of Good Tidings. Besides well written articles by the editors, it has consisted of translations from the writings of Ballou, Balfour, &c. and of extracts from other Universalist publications. It is conducted with ability, and has the prayers of the whole Universalist community for its continuance. In January, 1829, a society was regularly formed in Marietta, called "the First Society of Universalists in Lancaster county," and in a few months after, another at East Hempfield, called the *second* society of that faith in the same *county*. A small building is being erected in Leacock township, which will be dedicated as a place of worship for Universalists.

IV. There has been some excitement on the subject of Universalism in the county of Dauphin. Mr. William Nast, an emigrant from Germany, located himself in Millersburg, where he translated Ballou's Treatise on Atonement and Notes on the Parables, into the German language. We have not, as yet, heard of their publication. Mr. Meyers and Mr. Nast have both preached Universalism in this town. There are also many individuals, known to be Universalists, in the neighboring counties of Union, Mifflin and Perry, who, not ashamed

of truth, do not hesitate to avow their honest convictions. Besides the places already mentioned, in Manyunk, on the Schuylkill, Norristown and Lower Merion, in Montgomery county, and in towns and villages too numerous to mention, have the joyful tidings of universal happiness been proclaimed.

V. There are about twelve regularly formed societies in this State, those we have mentioned being the principal. The ministers located in the State, are Zelotes Fuller and A. C. Thomas, Philadelphia; Jacob Meyers, Petersburg; A. B. Grosh, Marietta; William Nast, in the neighborhood of Lancaster; and G. W. Richmond, Lewisburg. There may be others, who, not having joined the Universalists, are unknown to us.

VI. We have reserved a notice of the "New-York and Philadelphia Association" for this place. It was formed in the city of New-York, May, 1829. Its second meeting was held the following September, in Philadelphia, at which Hon. J. Grosh, of Marietta, presided as Moderator. Rev. Mr. Meyers, the English and German preacher, was ordained as a Universalist; A. B. Grosh and William Hutchinson, received letters of fellowship; and the name of Mr. J. Freeman, who preached on the occasion, appears in the minutes, with whose residence and field of labor we are unacquainted. This Association met in New Brunswick, N. J. in December, 1829.

PART X.

Universalism in Delaware, Maryland and Virginia.

I. There are bodies of Universalists in the principal places in these States, but not organized into regular societies; as in Wilmington and Dover, in Delaware; Baltimore, in Maryland; Lynchburg, Fredericksburg, Norfolk and Richmond, in Virginia. Universalism has been preached in the three last named cities; and an interest in favor of this sentiment is kept up, and a knowledge of it spread, by means of the Universalist journals, which are circulated considerably in all these regions.

PART XI.

Universalism in North and South Carolina.

I. The first preacher of Universalism of whom we have heard in North Carolina, was Mr. John Stanstel, of Johnstone county. He had been a preacher in some other denomination; but about thirty-two or three years ago, he changed his sentiments and became a Universalist, or Hell Redemptionist as he was called. He retained his views until the hour of his death, and died regretting that he could leave no one behind him to follow up the work. About the same time, though unknown to Mr. Stanstel, there was a Universalist

preacher lower down in the State, by the name of Tatum. About the year 1780, Mr. D. Martin, pastor of a society of Dunkers, in Fairfield District, adjoining Newbury, was led to doubt the validity of the doctrine of endless punishment, by reading the works of William Law. Like an honest man, he desisted from preaching, until he could satisfy himself on that point; and after having given the subject a thorough investigation, he came out openly in the belief of Universal Salvation, and commenced preaching the doctrine. Following his example, Mr. Giles Chapman, a member of the same church, searched the scriptures, became convinced of the same doctrine, and although not a preacher before, now commenced the work of the ministry. The former continued his labors, with good effect, for several years, and died at the advanced age of seventy; the latter lived and preached until 1819, and died on the 14th of April, in the evening of human life. Neither Mr. Chapman, nor any of his brethren knew of the existence of any Universalists in the United States besides themselves; nor did he become acquainted with the fact, until on his death bed, when a friend accidentally procured and read to him Ballou's Treatise on Atonement. The dying man was in extacy; and so strong was the effect upon his feelings, it is said to have allayed his bodily pain, though his suffering had been extreme. Both these men were of the faith of Winchester. In the year 1797, Mr. Elijah Lynch, of Newbury District, united himself with the Dun-

ker Society; in 1805, he commenced preaching as a Universalist, and an associate with Mr. Chapman. His labors, though faithful and approved, have not been as extensive as those of his predecessors. He preaches to a respectable audience once a month, in a Meeting House about three miles from Newbury Court House, and at other places, as occasion requires. These men were not disowned by the church to which they belonged. The members had been convinced by the two former ministers of the truth of Universalism, so that when Mr. Lynch joined them, he did it as a Universalist; and he was the last member received with the ceremonies of the Dunkers, as the church then became and still continues Universalist, in its profession.

II. About the year 1823 or 4, a Universalist by the name of Cole, preached several times in these States. He passed along through the United States from South to North, like a meteor in the sky, to attract attention for a moment, and be seen no more. In January 1825, Mr Abner Kneeland, then of Philadelphia, visited Wilmington, N. C. by invitation, and remained four weeks, preaching in the Baptist Meeting House. On his return, he passed through the counties of Duplin, Hanover and Wayne, and preached in each. Desirous of obtaining some preacher to settle among them, the Universalists in Wilmington wrote to Boston, and Rev. Jacob Frieze repaired to that place; and during his residence labored in North Carolina with

great zeal and success. In February, 1827, 'The Liberalist,' a paper devoted to Universalism, was commenced. It was at first printed semi-monthly, in a small size; but at the beginning of the second year, it was enlarged to a *royal*, and issued every week. It was edited by Mr. Frieze; and since his return to New England, it has been under the care of a zealous and intelligent layman by the name of McRae.

III. A CONVENTION of Universalists was formed on June 2d, 1827. Its object was to bring the Universalists into an acquaintance with each other, to unite their energies, and make arrangements for preaching. Rev. A. J. Maurice at present fills the place vacated by the removal of Mr. Frieze. The principal field of their labors has been Richland Chapel, North East, and Shepard's Meeting Houses, in Onslow county, Limestone, Union, Nahunga and New Hope Meeting Houses, in Duplin; Clinton (C. H.); Ten Miles and Lisbon Meeting Houses, in Sampson; Trenton (C. H.) in Jones; and Chinquapin Meeting House, in New Hanover; besides Wilmington, and other places.

PART XI.

Universalism in Georgia and Alabama.

I. The Universalists of New England had never heard Georgia mentioned in connexion with their sentiments, until the spring of 1826, when they were surprised by the appearance at Milledgeville,

the capital of that State, of a Universalist paper, entitled the 'Star of the South.' It was conducted by Mr. Michael Smith, a preacher of Universalism, and was an octavo of eight pages, published on every other Saturday. This gentleman prepared another work, called the 'Light of Truth and the Pleasure of Light,' which was published in Hartford, Con. It was a mere plagiarism on Balfour, and several other Universalist authors. 'The Star of the South' was eventually united with the 'Religious Inquirer' at Hartford, a considerable number of which, we believe, are distributed in Georgia and the neighboring States. The following is an extract of a letter from Mr. Smith to a friend in New England: "Brother Black writes me from ALABAMA, that our doctrine prevails in that region, and that a judicious preacher would be well supported there. Brother Crane of De Kalb county, Georgia, gives similar information. A door is opened in Dublin, twenty miles below me. Indeed, appearances are encouraging. Should health permit, I purpose to visit these places in Autumn, and shall continue to hope, that some assistance will yet come on from the North. O that men would praise the Lord, &c."

PART XII.

Universalism in Louisiana.

I. In the month of December, 1823, Mr. D. M. Cole, of whom we have already spoken, appeared

in the city of New Orleans, and gave notice that he should preach a discourse, in favor of Universal Salvation, on the next Sabbath, in the Market-house. The Mayor gave out word, that if Mr. Cole attempted to preach in that public manner, he would be fined and imprisoned. He preached; but the officers came too late to arrest him. A convenient house was procured for the next Sabbath, but the Mayor interfered, and ordered the owner not to open his doors; stating that Mr. Cole would be arrested if he attempted to preach, except on board of some vessel in the river. Those who felt interested accordingly went on board a vessel, and the meeting was holden there. On the next day, a communication was addressed, through the columns of the 'Evening Post' of that city, "*to his Honor, J. Roffignac, Mayor of the city of New-Orleans.*" After having stated that the Mayor had, on the previous day, prevented Mr. Cole from preaching in a private dwelling house, the writer proposes to him several questions, and among others the following: 1. By what law of the State, or of the city council, is the preaching of the gospel by any minister prohibited? 2. Whether the Constitution of the United States, and of Louisiana, do not guaranty to every citizen, the right of freely expressing his religious opinions? 3. Have not "two or three hundred whites, whose religion is of the sect called Universalists, a right to hear their doctrine explained by one of their own ministers?" 4. In reference to the well known practice of the Mayor in

attending *bull baitings*, the writer asks, "which, sir, is the most rational and intellectual enjoyment for our citizens, hearing a discourse on Universal Salvation, or witnessing a *bison* torn to pieces by bull dogs, on the anniversary of the birth of our Saviour?" A hard question, indeed! A meeting was appointed for the next Sabbath, and was held without any molestation. On Mr. Cole's departure from that city, the meetings were continued, and a subscription started for the building of a house; but failing in this, the "friends to Universal Salvation," as they called themselves, applied to Judge Dick, of the District Court, for the use of the Court House. In their petition they represented to his Honor, that they had united in a congregation, and for some time past, had assembled on the Sabbath for public worship; that their numbers and means did not admit of their building a house of worship, which they intended to do when sufficient funds were acquired; that they had met together in the private house of their friend Mr. J. Bannister, which was, on account of the increase of their numbers, incapable of accommodating them; and that they therefore petitioned for the use of the Court House. This memorial was signed by one hundred and ten persons. The Judge replied with great courtesy, that "from the circumstances detailed in their petition, as well as from the highly beneficent views and respectable character of the Universalists of New Orleans, he would feel highly gratified, if it were in his power to comply with

their request; but he was fully satisfied that he had no authority to devote the Court House to any other use, than that to which it has been expressly destined by law."

Whether these Universalists continue their meetings to the present time, we cannot say. A report has lately reached us, on which we know not how much dependence to place, that they are now building a house of worship.

PART XIII.

Universalism in the Western States.

1. Ohio is the queen of the West. Timothy Bigelow was one of the earliest preachers of Universalism in this State. On the records of the General Convention for 1814, we find the following resolve: "Voted, that the Convention approve of the removal of our well beloved brother Timothy Bigelow from Winchester, N. H. to the State of Ohio, and authorize brother R. Carrique to address a special communication to said brother, with suitable commendations for the full satisfaction of all in those sections of the Redeemer's harvest, where he is now, or may be called to labor." The next we hear of him is in the year 1821. In September of that year, a number of Universalists met in Palmyra, Portage county, for the purpose of forming an Association. Mr. Bigelow was appointed Moderator, and N. B. Johnson, Clerk. They took the

name—"Northern Ohio Universalian Association." Eleven churches and sixteen societies were received into fellowship. Several were ordained as *deacons* of these churches; two were ordained as *ministers* at large, and one received a letter as such. The ministers present appear to have been, T. Bigelow, C. Rogers, N. B. Johnson, R. Jones, E. Williams, T. Cotton. They say, in the circular letter, "Brethren, your whole number, seven years ago, who believed in the universal love of God, did not exceed twenty; and at this time, on the same ground, your numbers are more than fifteen hundred. Besides this, there is a large body of brethren, still further to the west, with hearts lifted to heaven, who are anxiously looking for your brethren in the ministry, that are now with you; and we expect to be with them in one week from this time, to form them into an Association." This, we believe, was called the "Richland Association," and held its first meetings in Enon county. The second meeting of the Northern Association was held in Shalersville, Portage county, in September, 1822. Besides the ministers present last year, there were added to their number, Daniel Demisk, T. Strong, John Boyer, Ambrose Perkins, David St. Clair, John Tuttle, and John M. Baldwin. Several deacons were ordained, and several new societies joined the body. It adjourned to meet in Painesville, Geauga county. Mr. Bigelow died on Nov. 5, 1823.

II. This was the rise of Universalism in Ohio. From the north-east it gradually inclined to the south and western parts of the State. A Convention of Universalists convened in Jacksonsburg, Butler county, in November, 1826. William D. Jones, Moderator; Findley Moore, Clerk. The circular letter from the "Middle Ohio Association" was read, and delegates appointed to attend it in Chillicothe in September, 1827. The preachers present on this occasion were James Alfred, Jonathan Kidwell, and Daniel St. John. Societies had by this time sprung up in various parts of the State, and the preachers travelled with untiring diligence. A very respectable body of Universalists arose in Marietta and its neighborhood, who have now a settled preacher, Rev. A. Sweet. In Cincinnati there is a highly respectable society of Universalists, to whom Rev. Josiah C. Waldo has, of late, ministered. They erected a house of worship in the spring of 1828. A Universalist journal, entitled the 'Sentinel, and Star in the West,' is published in this city, edited by Messrs. Waldo, Kidwell and Tizzard. Mr. Kidwell is a travelling preacher. In a letter dated April 27, 1829, he says, "My circuit embraces seven of the eastern counties of Indiana, and nine of the western counties of Ohio. It is about three years since I commenced riding so extensively; and, in general, I go round the circuit once in a month. When I first formed this circuit, our number was estimated at about two hundred; it would be a low estimate now to put it

at two thousand, and it is daily increasing. There are but few neighborhoods who have formed themselves in regular order. There are, however, several respectable societies. In the course of the ensuing summer, *five* Universalian Meeting Houses will go up on my circuit. There are now seven public Meeting Houses in which we have an equal right with others. There are ten local preachers on this circuit, and several preparing themselves for the ministry. There is also a Lutheran minister, Rev. Andrew Hinckle, of Germantown, Ohio, who believes and preaches the doctrine. He is a young man of the first class of talents, a Sabellian, and a believer in future limited punishment."

III. There are many Universalists in the States of Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky and Tennesee. In a letter, dated Feb. 1826, a preacher says, "Since January last, I have been diligently engaged in travelling and preaching the gospel, in the States of Indiana, Kentucky and Ohio. There are three Universalist Associations in Ohio, and we contemplate forming a Convention next year. Several societies have lately been formed, without the assistance of a preacher. They meet on Sundays, and engage in social worship. In Kentucky our friends are not so numerous. I have heard of but one society in that State, who believe in the restoration of all things. It is in the neighborhood of Lexington. Brother John Rice, a German, is the pastor, and I have been told he is a man of many virtues. I have been informed also, that there are two

preachers of our order, living in the lower part of that State." In Louisville, there has been much excitement on the subject of Universalism at different times, and there are many intelligent and influential individuals in that place who are friendly to that sentiment, and who are about building a Meeting House. Indeed, every where, in the vast valley of the Mississippi, the traveller meets men of liberal and expanded views, who have hope in the goodness of God for themselves and all mankind.

PART XIV.

Changes of Opinions.

1. The radical changes which have taken place in the opinions of American Universalists, constitute one of the most important, and at the same time, one of the most interesting traits in their history. Every sect derives, more or less, its distinctive features from its founders. Mr. Murray was not a Unitarian. He believed that the Creator, enrobed in humanity, descended to the earth, and thus became the Saviour of sinners; that he was exhibited as a Holy Spirit of consolation, who took of the things of Jesus and showed them to the world; that as man, composed of body, soul and spirit, is but one man, so the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, are one God. Mr. Winchester maintained the doctrine of the trinity, perhaps in not a very

dissimilar manner. Of the two, we should think Mr. Murray was the most tenacious of this doctrine. They both held to the existence of misery in a future state. Mr. Winchester looked upon it as a *penal* suffering, inflicted for the sins of this life, a doctrine which was totally inconsistent with Mr. Murray's whole theory. The latter held that man, from his union to Christ, suffered in the person of his Saviour, all that the divine law threatened; and that the suffering of man, either in this or the future life, is the necessary consequence of that blindness which prevents him from beholding the Lamb of God, who hath taken away the sin of the world. Those who fall asleep in unbelief, wake up in darkness, which must remain till the veil is taken away, and "all flesh shall *see* the salvation of of God."

II. The minds of the immediate successors, and indeed contemporaries, of these men, were engrossed with the doctrine of ultimate universal happiness. They may be said to have admitted rather than defended their peculiar sentiments, some following more closely the one, and some the other. But we apprehend that as early as 1800, very essential departures had been made; and finally, the doctrines of the Trinity and Atonement, with all kindred notions, were discarded by the whole denomination, with a very few exceptions. The labors of Rev. Hosea Ballou, now of the city of Boston, may be regarded as one of the principal means of this change. In his Treatise on Atone-

ment he has treated the subject at length, maintaining the subordination of the Son to the Father, the eternal and unpurchased love of God to all his creatures, and holding forth the death of Christ, not as the cause, but as the effect, of this eternal principle of the Divine Nature. The very wide circulation of this work, evinces the high estimation in which it has been held by the American Universalists.[2]

2 To ascertain, in the most satisfactory manner, the means by which this individual was led to embrace his present views, I addressed to him the following queries, to which he was pleased to return the sub joined answer.

1. As your father was a Baptist clergyman, of the Calvinistic order, and as you, in early life, was a member of a church of like faith, please inform me by what means your attention was first drawn to the subject of Universalism?

2. What works on Universalism did you read before you became a Universalist?

3. Did you embrace Universalism on the principle of Relly's and Murray's system?

4. If so, by what means were you led to give up your views of the trinity, and the common doctrine of atonement?

5. At what time in your ministry did you embrace your present views of atonement?

6. What was the progress of your mind in regard to the doctrine of punishment in the future state?

Boston, Nov. 25th, 1829.

Br. Whittemore—I regret that it is not in my power to return answers to your several questions, with all the accuracy and minuteness which the occasion of your request seems to require. But owing to a fault in me, in not keeping a journal, I am unable to fix the date which you desire; and owing to the same fault I must be quite indefinite, in relation to other circumstances, concerning which you ask information.

As to the doctrine of Calvinism, in which my honored father was a believer, and which doctrine he preached until nearly the end of his public labors, my acquaintance with its various tenets, while quite a youth, was by no means very limited. Owing to the pious endeavors of a parent, whose affections for his children rendered him extremely anxious for their spiritual welfare, and to an early desire of my own

III. The doctrine of a *limited future punishment*, as a distinct question, has never excited a very general interest. For twenty years a difference of opinion has existed on this point; but the difference

to understand the doctrine of Christianity correctly, I was well acquainted with the most common arguments which were used in support of predestination, election, reprobation, the fall of man, the penal sufferings of Christ for the elect, the justice of reprobation, and many other particulars, such as regard the moral agency of man and his inability to regenerate himself, the sovereignty and irresistibility of regenerating grace, &c. &c.

When I was in my nineteenth year, there was, what was termed, a reformation in the vicinity where I lived, and many of my young friends and acquaintances professed religion and joined the Baptist church, of which my father was pastor. At this time I became more specially attentive to the subject of religion, and thought it my duty to become a professor, and to join the church, which I did, in the sincerity of my heart, in the month of January, 1789. From that period to the present I have been a constant student of the science of divinity. But owing to the strongly rooted prejudices which had so early taken possession of my mind, and to circumstances which necessarily limited my means, in youth, of acquiring knowledge, my progress has been but small.

I will now endeavor to notice your questions in their order, with as much brevity as convenient, and with as much accuracy as possible.

1st. At the time I joined the Baptist church, there were in Richmond and Warwick, a few individuals, who called themselves Universalists, and who occasionally heard Br. Caleb Rich hold forth that doctrine. There was also an elderly gentleman by the name of Ballou, a distant relation of my father, who also occasionally preached the same doctrine. These individuals frequently attended the Baptist meetings, and being of my acquaintance, we often conversed on the question, whether all mankind would alike be made partakers of the salvation of God. In those conversations I frequently found that my Calvinistic tenets could be managed either to result in Universal Salvation, or to compel me to acknowledge the *partiality* of the divine favor. This gave me no small inquietude of mind; as I was always unable to derive satisfaction from sentiments which I could not defend. That which more than any thing else contributed to turn my thoughts seriously towards the belief of Universal Salvation, was the ardent desires, with which I found myself exercised, that sinners might be brought to repentance and salvation. I found it utterly impossible to bring the feelings of my heart to conform to the doctrine of eternal reprobation; and I was compelled to allow, either that such feelings were sinful, or that my heavenly Father, in giving them to me,

in itself has not been the cause of alienation of feeling, or disruption of fellowship. Brethren of different views meet together in love, and enjoy rich satisfaction in each others counsel

had imparted an evidence in favor of the Salvation of all men, the force of which I found no means to resist. As yet I was, like young converts in general, very little acquainted with the scriptures. But the trials which I was then undergoing led me to examine the written word, to satisfy myself on the great question which had such weight on my mind. On reading the Bible, there would now and then, here and there, a passage appear to favor the doctrine of universal, and impartial grace. But all the prejudices of my early education, in these things, were arrayed against my making any advances. But in the spring following my union with the Baptist Church, I left Richmond, my native place, and went with my brother Stephen, next older to myself, who joined the church a short time after me, to Hartford in N. Y. then called Westfield, where we spent the Summer. In this town there was a Baptist church and congregation, enjoying the pastoral labors of Elder Brown, on whose ministry we attended. My brother was apprehensive that my mind was inclined to Universalism ; and told me that he had a desire that I should converse with Elder Brown on the subject, by which means he hoped I should become fully convinced that the doctrine was false, and be more settled in the belief in which I had made profession. It must be here understood that I was, by no means, at that time settled in my faith. There was, at my brother's request, a conference appointed, after public service, on the Sabbath, for Elder Brown to convince me that I ought to give no heed to the doctrine which labored in my mind. Accordingly we met. The Elder requested me to turn to some passage of scripture which appeared to me favorable to Universalism; promising to do his endeavors to show me the error of applying it in favor of such a doctrine. I well remember the apparent confidence which this man manifested when he took his seat, and called on me to find some scripture, that in the least favored so dangerous an error. I opened to the 5th chapter of Romans. I had read this chapter with much attention, and was tolerably acquainted with its several parts and their relation to each other. I directed him to the 18th verse; and told him that I was unable to understand the passage, if it agreed with the doctrine of the eternal reprobation of any of the human family. He immediately began, in his way, to speak very loudly, and nothing to the subject. When he would stop, I had only to inform him that what he had offered had no relation to the text I had produced; and by showing him that the same *all men* who were under condemnation in the first member of the text, were under justification in the last, evidently confused his

and society. The subject was controverted ten or twelve years ago, by Rev. Messrs. Hosea Ballou and Edward Turner, in a series of letters in the 'Gospel Visitant.' Since then Messrs. Wood, Love-

mind and immediately turned it sour. He was no longer able to converse, with a right spirit, and prudence dictated a discontinuance. My brother now grew more uneasy, and told me that he was sorry I had conversed with Elder Brown. For, said he, "as he could by no means answer you, and as he manifested anger, you will think you had the best of the argument, and will feel encouraged to indulge favorable thoughts of Universalism." You cannot suppose that I now use the very words which were used in conversation so long ago; I am careful only to give you the subject. As to this Elder Brown, I am far from wishing to represent him in an unfavorable light. I believe he was a worthy man. But it is a fact, that he was extremely ignorant of the subject, having had, as I presume, no acquaintance with the views of Universalists, or with their manner of arguing. I continued my researches with no small solicitude; and by reading the scriptures, and by conversing with those who opposed the doctrine, before I returned the next fall, to Richmond, my mind was quite settled in the consoling belief that God will finally have mercy on all men. On my return I found that my brother David Ballou, whose age is some over twelve years advanced of mine, had not only openly professed Universal Salvation, but had commenced preaching the doctrine. I spent most of my time with him until the fall before I was twenty-one, when I began to speak in public, believing and preaching Universal Salvation, on the Calvinistic principles of atonement, and imputed righteousness.*

2d. I never read any thing on the doctrine of Universal Salvation before I believed it, the Bible excepted; nor did I know, that I now recollect, that there was any thing published in its vindication in the world. Nor had I ever heard a sermon on the subject, except when in boyhood I heard Br. Rich, but concerning the sermon I realized nothing.

3d. It was some time after I was a preacher of the doctrine, before I was at all acquainted with Relly's peculiar system; and if my memory serves me correctly, I had left the principles of Calvinism entirely, in relation to atonement, before I learned from Br. Murray the tenets which he received from Mr. Relly.

4th. I had preached but a short time before my mind was entirely freed from all the perplexities of the doctrine of the trinity, and the

* Soon after it was known that I believed in the doctrine, I was excommunicated from the Church, and was honored with a copy of the document, carefully stating that no fault was found in me, excepting that I believed that God would finally save all men.

land and Hudson, have defended the affirmative of the question, and Messrs. Ballou, Balfour, Brooks, and the editors of the 'Universalist Magazine,' the negative. The principal texts alleged in favor of a

common notion of atonement. But in making these advances, as I am disposed to call them, I had the assistance of no author, or writer. As fast as those old doctrines were, by any means, rendered the subjects of inquiry, in my mind, they became exploded. But it would be difficult for me now to recall the particular incidents which suggested queries in my mind respecting them. It may be proper for me here to state one circumstance, which, no doubt, had no small tendency to bring me on to the ground where I have, for many years, felt established. It was my reading some deistical writings. By this means I was led to see that it was utterly impossible to maintain Christianity as it had been generally believed in the church. This led me, of course, to examine the scriptures, that I might determine the question, whether they did really teach that Jesus Christ died to reconcile an unchangeable God to his own creatures? You cannot suppose that I was long in finding that so far from teaching such absurdities, the scriptures teach that "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself." The question respecting the trinity was, by the same means, as speedily settled. But I cannot say, for certainty, what year I became a Unitarian, but it was long before I wrote my Treatise on Atonement, the date of which you have.

As my fourth particular replies to your fifth, I may now proceed to notice your sixth and last.

Respecting the doctrine of a future state of retribution, there was, in my youth, but little said. Universalists having obtained satisfaction that none of the human race would suffer endless punishment, thought they had sufficient reason to rejoice with exceeding joy, and to glory in the mercy of God. I never made the question a subject of close investigation until lately. When I wrote my Notes on the Parables, and my Treatise on Atonement, I had travelled, in my mind, away from penal sufferings, so entirely, that I was satisfied that if any suffered in the future state, it would be because they would be sinful in that state. But I cannot say that I was fully satisfied, that the Bible taught no punishment in the future world, until I obtained this satisfaction by attending to the subject with Br. Edward Turner, then of Charlestown. For the purpose of satisfying ourselves respecting the doctrine of the scriptures, on this question, we agreed to do the best we could; he in favor of future punishment, and I the contrary. Our investigations were published in a periodical, called the Gospel Visitant. While attending to this correspondence, I became entirely satisfied, that the scriptures begin and end the history of sin in flesh and blood; and that be-

future judgment and retribution are Matt. x. 28, xi. 23, 24. Luke xvi. 19—31. John v. 28, 29. Acts xvii. 30, 31, xxiv. 25. 2 Cor. v. 8—10. Heb. ix. 27, 28. 1 Peter iii. 18—20. 2 Peter ii. 9. Jude, verse 6th. Of these texts, those in which a *day of judgment* is spoken of, are referred, by such as reject the doctrine of a future punishment, to the time in which Christ, as King in Zion, rules and judges the moral world; or to the day of vengeance in which the Jews suffered a "tribulation, such as had not been from the beginning of the world, no, nor ever shall be." To the former subject, Acts xvii. 30, 31, is particularly applied, and to the latter, the majority of the rest of the texts here quoted. The words of the apostle in Heb. ix. 27, 28, are generally understood, by this class, to refer to the sacrificial death of the High Priests under the law, and to the *judgment* which they bore upon their hearts before the Lord. (See Exodus xxviii. 29, 30.) To this explanation they think they are naturally led by the context. Hence, in translating the verse,

yond this mortal existence the Bible teaches no other sentient state but that which is called by the blessed name of life and immortality.

When I sat down to reply to Br. Turner, who urged the passage in Peter, respecting the spirits in prison, I knew not by what means I could explain the text without allowing it to favor the doctrine of future sufferings. I had, at that time, no knowledge of any translation of the text, but the one in our common version.—But on reading the whole subject, in connexion, the light broke in on my mind, and I was satisfied that Peter alluded to the Gentiles, by spirits in prison, which made the passage agree with Isaiah 42d.

You will be so kind as to excuse me for not being able to give you a more accurate reply to your questions, and permit me to conclude by wishing you abundant success in your laborious undertaking.

Yours affectionately: HOSEA BALLOU.

they frequently retain the Greek article, "as it is appointed unto *the* men once to die."[3*] The apostle, they maintain, was evidently making a comparison between the death of the men here spoken of, and the death of Christ, which is evident from the use of the particles *as* and *so*. "Christ was once offer-

[3] In order to obtain the most satisfactory evidence concerning the numbers and views of the Universalists in the United States, I addressed a Circular to the principal Universalist clergy, requesting their answers to several questions, the last of which follows: "What proportion of the Universalists with whom you are acquainted, believe in the doctrine of punishment in the future state of existence? and what part of them are Trinitarians?" Knowing the use I was about to make of their communications, they returned the following answers on those points.

From Rev. WILLIAM A. DREW, of Augusta, Me. "As far as my knowledge extends, I should think that a majority of our brethren would *not* affirm positively, as their settled belief, that there will or will not be punishment hereafter. The other half may be pretty equally divided on the subject. But of all this I cannot speak with certainty. Of the ministers, *five* are open disbelievers of any future punishment; *eight* profess to believe it, but most of them do not seem to be strenuous about it; and the remainder are studiously silent on the question. It may be that this proportion quite nearly answers also to the laity on this subject."

From Rev. GEORGE BATES of Livermore, Me. He speaks of that part of the State which lies west of the Kennebec. "I find it somewhat difficult to answer your sixth question. I cannot judge of a man's peculiar sentiments, any further than they are declared; and as I have in all my public labors studiously avoided any direct statements on this point, in consequence of not being myself decided either way, the subject has not been sufficiently discussed to enable me with accuracy to pass judgment. I should, however, give it as my opinion, that believers in punishment in a future state of existence, are in the minority in this part of the State. With regard to the doctrine of the trinity, I believe there are very few who embrace it."

From Rev. JOSEPH P. ATKINSON, of Meredith, N. H. "With the Universalists in the county of Strafford, I am considerably acquainted, and should give it as my opinion, that a large majority confine sin and misery to this transitory state. The societies with which I am particularly acquainted, are those in Meredith, Guilford and Gilmanton, and of these I know of none who extend punishment beyond the grave. As it respects the trinity, it being foreign from Universalism,

ed to bear the sins of many"; and, in this respect, his death may be justly compared to the sacrificial death of the High Priests; but they can see no propriety in comparing it to the common death of all men. And when, as in the latter clause of the 28th verse, the apostle speaks of the appearance

there is but little said about it. I think, however, that the number is extremely small, if there be any, who believe it."

From Rev. WILLIAM S. BALCH, Winchester, N. H. "I cannot answer your sixth question: I know nothing about their opinions concerning an intermediate state. But I think they almost unanimously reject the doctrine of the trinity."

From Rev. MENZIES RAYNER, Hartford, Con. "I believe there are few of what are called Restorationists in this State, and no trinitarians that I know of."

From Rev. STEPHEN R. SMITH, Clinton, Oneida county, N. Y. "It is impossible to ascertain, with much certainty, the number of those who believe in a state of disciplinary punishment after death. There is, however, no doubt, that they are a minority of the order of Universalists in this State. My personal acquaintance extends to two thirds of the societies at least; and though there are believers in future punishment in all of them, yet, in general, they appear *not to be* as numerous as those who reject that doctrine. The same is unquestionably true of the preachers. But this is a subject on which very little interest is felt, and is seldom agitated by the preachers. Among the ministers, there is not one in the connexion with the Associations, who is a trinitarian. And very few, not one of a thousand of the various congregations, is a believer in that doctrine. As a denomination they reject the trinity, and for this plain reason, it is their aim to be reasonable, as well as liberal."

From Rev. PITT MORSE, Watertown, Jefferson county, N. Y. "The majority of Universalists, with whom I am acquainted, do not believe in punishment beyond this mortal state. But there are some who believe in a limited punishment in a future state of being. Universalists in this region are Unitarians, almost without exception. I do not recollect any who are trinitarians."

From Rev. AARON B. GROSH, Marietta, Lancaster county, Penn. "Persons who *call* themselves Universalists, believe, I compute, from one fiftieth to one twentieth part in punishment after death; but if we include others, (i. e. the Universalists among other denominations) then those who believe in a state of punishment after death, are more than one half of the whole number. For I find many Restorationists among the German Baptists, the Lutherans, and the Reformed Churches; the old Mennonists are nearly all such; and there are a few

of Christ a second time without sin unto salvation, they think there is an evident reference to the reappearance of the High Priest from the Holy of Holies, bearing THE JUDGMENT of the children of Israel upon his heart. The "Spirits in prison" they generally believe were the Gentiles, who were in the prison of sin and darkness, to whom the Saviour preached after he was quickened, by means of his Spirit, which was communicated to his disciples. This view is now taken by critics of several denominations.

IV. It is certain, that the sentiments of the American Universalists are prevailing with an un-

among the English people, particularly among those who are attached to no society. But very few will care publicly to own this *faith*, since the *name* is attached to it. I am also told that among the German Methodists, some believe in a final Restitution. In answering as to the trinity, I shall class the Arians among the believers in the divine unity. Of those who call themselves Universalists, I have found but one believer in the trinity, and he was a Rellyan."

From Mr. ALEXANDER MACRAE, editor of the 'Liberalist,' a Universalist journal in Wilmington, N. C. "Universalists in this State, with but few exceptions, believe in no punishment after death; and none, that I know of, believe in the trinity."

From Rev. JOSIAH C. WALDO, Cincinnati, Ohio. "Mr. R. is thoroughly acquainted with the Universalists in every section of this country. He tells me *all*, with a few exceptions, are Unitarian Universalists. It is the fact in this city. The Restorationists, he says, are comparatively nothing. The number in this city you know, as well as I, is small. I have preached at Mount Pleasant, Hamilton, Oxford, Sharon, Mechanicksburg, Franklin, Middletown, Sandusky city, Eaton, Dayton, &c. In all these places I have had crowded assemblies, especially at Dayton, where, I am told, our friends are building a house. A large majority with whom I became acquainted, are Unitarian Universalists."

From Rev. J. KIDWELL, a travelling preacher in Ohio and Indiana. "There is but one preacher within my acquaintance, calling himself a Universalist, who believes in future punishment, and there are but few private individuals. This preacher is the Rev. Daniel Parker."

precedented rapidity. The industry of the preachers; their popular manner of speaking; the great interest of the subjects they discuss, and their adaptation to the moral wants of mankind; the wide circulation of Universalist journals; the frequent meetings of Associations in different parts of the country; and the occasional publication of sermons and tracts, have given an impulse to the spread of their views, which must soon cause them to rank as one of the principal denominations in the United States.

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ERRATA.

Very few errata occur besides those which will be apparent to every one ; and which it is not necessary therefore, that we mention.

On page 87, the references to the notes will, in some copies, be found to be misplaced. A very little attention, however, will show the reader how they ought to stand.

Page 184, lines ten and eleven from the top, it should read, "to give of every Universalist a distinct, or *of* any *a* detailed account." The words in italics were omitted.

Page 188, Letsone should be Lettsom.

Page 216, top line, Rutter should be Butler. Same page, eighth line from bottom, *which* should be *of*. When the form in which these mistakes occur was worked, the author was absent from the city.

I have observed, in one or two instances, that the form was a little broken in working off. These things are not so readily discovered at the power press. Every reader's sagacity will enable him to supply the defect.

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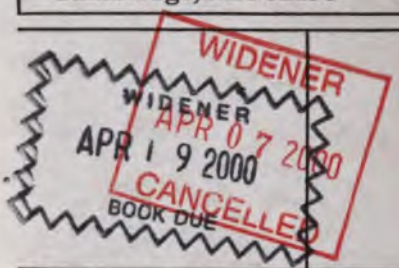

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